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I INDEX TO BOOKS I—VI OF SABARA'S BHĀSYA
i (Bib Ind Edn)

By THE LATE LOL G A JACOB

[Continued from *The S B Studies*, Vol II, P 28

खादिर, 667—8, 671—2

“ खनन पुरोपां [वेदिं] प्रतिष्ठाकामस्य ”

(Cf Āpast Śrauta, 2 3 5 6), 504

खलि, oil cake, 307

“ खादिरं चीर्यकामस्य यूं इति etc ”, 488, 490, 493

“ खादिरे [पशु] वधनाति etc ”, 466 493 667

गग्नि शतं दण्ड्यन्ताम्, 223

गर्भदात, a slave by birth, 208

“ गर्भाएषेषु ग्राहणमुपनयीत ”, 651

“ गर्भिणयो भवन्ति ” (T S 2 1 2 6) 446 For a new theory

as to the meaning of this see Dr Barnett's notice of a book in J R A S 1909, p 473

गवामयनं, a sacrificial session, the performance of which lasts a year (Satip iv 6 2 and note to vii 1 2 1) 713, 759

“ गायत्र्या तथा शताक्षरत्र्या संदधीत ”, 680

गाहैपत्यन्याय, 246

गुणवाद, “a statement meant figuratively” (MW), “indirect application (Jhī),—45

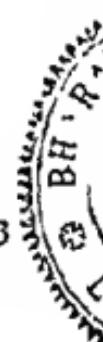
गुणिष्ठिधि, conjunction of a secondary matter, 95, 87—90, 108.

गुणानां च परार्थत्वादसम्बन्ध समाचात्स्यात् (Sutra 3 1 22)

Cowell translates thus in Śāṅkalya Sutra i 19 (p 26),—

“subsidiary portions of a sacrifice stand as such on the same level and so cannot be connected with each of her”.

“गुरुकुरुग्नतद्य, etc , 647, 650



"गृहीतान्नहानृत्विज आददते etc" 346 Apast. Sr 1.16 3
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 प्रहैकत्वन्याय (See Maxims),—224
 "ग्रामकामो यजेत्", 640
 ग्रामस्तुत, one of the 10 priests at an Agnिष्ठोma sacrifice—the extoller of the stones for pressing the soma plants (See Eggeling's notes on Satap 18 1 21, and iv 3 3 1)—353
 घटीयन्त्र, 541
 घृतं शिरिति निहितं मनुष्याणा सुखकरमेव, 318
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 चतुर्होत्र formulas, so called from four priests (Agnidh, Adhvaryu Hotri and Upavaktri) being mentioned in them (Satap iv, 6 9 18 and note), 390 762
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 "चमसांश्चमसाध्वर्यवै प्रयच्छति ", 357, 409
 चमसाध्वर्यु (Satap ii 2 1 29 and foot note), 357, 348—9, 409.

“चमसाध्यगृः वृणीते”, 398.

चमसिन् (See Eggeling's note on Satap. iv.2.1.31),—349, 356.

चपाल, a 'head-piece'-a ring on the top of the यूप, generally of wood, but occasionally of *Dongh*. (See Eggeling's note to 3.7.1.3 and 5.2.10. In the *Vedic Index* it is defined as "the monstar-shaped top-piece of the sacrificial post"),—528.

चातुर्मास्यानि, the 3 four-monthly or seasonal sacrifices (Satap. 2.5.1) (See *Vedic Index*).—96,157.

चात्वाल, the pit from which the earth has been taken to form the high altar, and into which the कृष्णविपाणि etc. are *thrown* on the conclusion of a sacrifice (See Eggeling on Satap. 3. 5. 1. 26), 478.

“चात्वाले कृष्णविपाणं प्रास्यति” (T. S. vi. 1. 3. 8. and Satap. 4. 4. 5. 2), 478, 638.

चाहसंख्याः (कादस्वाः), 33.

“चित्पतिस्त्वा पुनात् etc.” (T. S. 1. 2. 1. 2), 135.

“चित्रया यज्ञत पशुकामः,” 87, 506 (T. S. 2. 4. 6. 1).

चित्रापूर्णमास of T. S. 7. 4. 8. 2. refd. to as चैत्रीपौर्णमासी—713, 714.

“चित्रिणीरूपदधाति”, 573—5.

चोदक, a codaka—text enforces the performance, of a function along with its subordinate parts' (Kunte on 3. 7. 51 and 5. 1. 17), 411, 547.

चोदना = क्रियाया अभिधायकं वाक्यम्), 108, 691, 701 (in these 2 sūtras Kunte renders it 'an original statement'. Should it not rather be 'originative' ?).

चोदना भूतं भवन्तं भविष्यन्तं...एवं जातीयकमर्थं एकोत्यवग-
मायितुम् , 4. (Quoted in Nyāyamañjari, p. 135).

चैत्रिन्याय, 105.

छाग may mean अश्व 'having the Jagat as its Sāma'—168, (Āpast. Śrauta xii. 14. 1).

जंजभ्यमान (जमु to yawn), 321—2. (See T.S. 2. 5. 2. 4).

जन्मान्तरानुभूतं न स्मर्यते, 65

३ जरद्वय, 38, 498

“जरामर्य वा एतत्सत्रं यद्विनदोत्रं”, 194, 196

जाधनी, the tail of an animal (as used in Satap 3 8 5 6 it is said by the purvapakṣin to stand for the whole animal—एकदेशत्वात्),—299

“जाधन्या पत्नीं संयाजर्यन्ति”, 299 (Satap 3 8 5 6 ‘they perform the Patnisamyajas with the tail (of the victim)’ See too Eggeling's note in Vol I pp 75 & 256)

जातस्य पुत्रस्य क्रीडनकं, 564 (In ४ ३ ५ we have यस्य नास्ति पुत्रो न तस्य पुत्रस्य क्रीडनकानि क्रियन्ते)

जातेन्द्रिन्याय, 511

जात्यन्ध, 4, 64 65 (जात्यन्धानामिध वचनं रूपविशेषेषु), p 4 The *Vedic Index* omits this sense of जामि altogether See J R A S , 1914, pp 301 732

जामिता दोष, 145 The fault of *repetition*, *similarity*

In Satap 1 3 2 8 Eggeling renders जामि ‘a repetition and — in 1 6 3 2 7 ‘sameness and ‘repetition’ On this latter passage Sayana says —

“एकरूपं यद्वस्तुद्वयं तद्विलक्षणेन वस्वन्तरेणाव्यवहितं तद्वयवद्यानेन तद्वस्तु जामि भवति”

In Nirukta iv 20 (Vol 2, p 460, and ४ 16 (Vol 4, p 67)

जामि is said to have the three meanings भगिनी, यालिश, and पुनरुक्त

See too Sabara on ४ 8 63 where he explains जामि by सावश्य

See too Bhāmati pp 77 and 642

“जामि वा एतद्यहस्य क्रियते यदन्वच्ची पुरोडाई, उपांगुयाजमन्तरा यजत्यजामिवाय” (T S 2 6 6 4),—144 Sayana's bhasya on this mantra is as follows—‘यदन्वच्चौ उपक्रामगता वाग्नेयाऽग्नीवोमीयपुरोडाई स्यातामेतेन यज्ञस्य जामि श्राल स्याय क्रियेत । अत श्रालस्य परिहाशय तयो दुरोडाशयोमेंध्ये उपांगुयाजं यजेत’

In the *bhāṣya* on Ait. Br. iii. 47, (Vol. 2, p 225), viz. "जामि वा एतद्देष्ट क्रियने यत्र समानीश्यामृग्यां समानेऽहन्य-जातीति," Sāyana again explains जामि by आलस्य, but adds "प्रयुक्तयोरेवर्ष्योः पुनः प्रयोगस्य चर्वितचर्वणसदृशत्वेनाऽनु-चित्तवात्" but Haug translates it 'laziness.'

On p. 669 of Jhā's translation of *Tantravārtika* (2. 2. 10) we read :—"When it so happens that between the offering of 2 cakes there is no other action to be performed, then we have the flow of *jānu* [i. e. जामितादोप] and hence the mention of the removal of *jāmi* [i. e. अजामित्व] must be taken as enlogizing that action which would be laid down as to be performed between the 2 offerings and from this it follows that, in the case in question, what has to be enlogized is the sacrifice *Upānsu* which is distinctly laid down as to be performed in the interim [अन्तरा]."

The *Nyāyasudhā* on 2. 2. 10 says :—

जामि वा इत्युक्तम् । सोदर्यवाचि जामिशब्दलक्षितस्य सादृ-
श्यस्य नैरान्तर्यानुष्टुप्ने सत्यात्स्यायापादकम्बेन दोपत्वात् etc.
जायमानस्य पुरुषस्य श्रग्ने शिरोजायते मध्ये मध्यं पश्यात्पादौ, 534.
'जायमानो हृ धै व्राह्मणस्त्रिभिर्मृष्टेणवा जायते etc.' (T.S. 6. 3.
10. 5), 651—2.

"जीर्यन्ति वा एष आहितः पशु. etc" (cf. T.S. 1. 5. 7. 3), 371.

ब्रह्म, This spoon and after sacrificial implements to be the common property of a'7 who are performing a *sātra* (see Jhā's *Prabh. Mīmānsā*, p. 210), 738—9.

ज्ञायोति (=होम), defined as distinguished from यजति (=याग).

For the different characteristics of the 2, see Index to Jhā, S. V. होम,— 484.

जैमिनि, named in *sutra*,—210,654.

शातसम्बन्धमैकदेशदर्शनादेकदेशान्तरेऽसन्तिरुद्देश्ये बुद्धिः (cf. एकसम्बन्धिदर्शने etc. 10 *Maxims* iii),—10.

ज्येष्ठो वा एष ग्रहाणां etc" (T.S. 3 5 9.1), 520.

“ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत्”, ५९८, ६०४, ६२०, ६३५
 तत्प्रत्यन्याय, the principle that there is another scripture
 declaratory of it (viz of the deity, the materials etc, of a
 sacrifice), ८९

“तत्र तवैवं कामा सत्रमुवेयु,” ६३४
 “तत्र तद्याद्पूर्वस्मिन्दास्यन्त्यात्,” ७२४
 “तत्रोत्कृष्टं वै अपरिमितम्,” ७५३
 तदादितद-तन्याय, ५५०
 “तद्यत्सर्वेभ्यो हविर्यं समवदाति,” ३४५, ४५६
 तदूद्यपदेशन्याय—The principle of a *Name indicating resemblance*
 to something. So my rendering in *Maxims* iii. Kunte translates
 the Sutra 1 4 5 'तद्यत्पदेशं च) by “Again well known
 resemblances determine the name of a Sacrifice and
 explains द्यपदेश by सदृश्य. In his translation, Jha
 renders the Sutra it points to the Action', but in his *Arvya
 Mimamsha Sutra* in Sacred Books of the Hindus, his
 rendering is ‘That also [should be taken as Name] which
 points to a similarity [between the sacrifice and the
 accessory that it would indicate]’ For Colebrooke's view
 see *Maxims* iii. 90

तनूनपात्रहण, ७२६ ७२९
 तन्त्र (See under आवाप in Index to Jhā, and Kunte on ५
 २ १३) —५६२, ५६८—९
 तन्त्रलोप, ७७३
 “तप्ते पयसि दध्यानयाति etc, १५७, ४४९
 “तमङ्गनकि,” Satap ३ १ ३ ९ “शुरेषोक्यानकि”, ditto ३ १ ३ १३
 —४१३
 “तं पराञ्चमुक्त्येभ्यो विगृह्णाति,” ५५५ See this as an adjective
 in Tandyā वा० ७ २
 तरसपुरोडाश, a cake composed of meat ४३३
 “तस्माज्जंजभ्यमानोऽनुद्यात् etc (T S २ ५ २ ४),—३२२
 “तस्मात्पितृभ्य. पूर्वेषु कर्योति”, ४९६, ४९९ (T S २ ५ ३ ६
 with क्रियते)

"तस्मात्पूपा प्रपिष्ठभोगोऽदन्तको हि सः" (T. S. 2, 6. 8. 5, and see Kunte on 3. 3. 41), 305, 308.

‘तस्मादीन्द्रियो न ददाति न पचति न ज्ञाहोति’ 716.

“तस्मान्मैत्रावरुण. प्रेष्यते चान् चाह”, 407—8.

“तस्य द्वादशशतं दक्षिणा,” 391.

“तानुचिष्टत औपध्यो वनस्पतयोऽनुचिष्टन्ति”, (T.S.7.4.8.3),—
715.

“तान्पर्यभिकृतान्तरसज्जिति,” 457.

“तान्पुरोऽध्यर्थविभजति etc.”, 397.

“तान्स घपट्कर्त्रं हरति,” १०.

“तिस्त आदुतीर्जुहोति” (T. S. 2. 3. 9. 3), 368.

“तिस्र एव साहस्र्योपसदो द्वादशाहीनस्य” (T. S. 6. 2. 5. 1),—
296, 324.

तिक्ष्णो दीक्षाः ॥ 391, 712.

“तीर्थं वै प्रातः सघनं etc.”, 458.

तुरुडपित्थी, N. of 2 men (cf. दित्थडवित्थ in Sankara's *bhāṣya* on 2. 4. 20), 730.

"तुण्डमात्रे दीयताम्", 'let it be given to Tunda's mother'
(though she may also be the mother of दण्डित्य).—730.

तम्ब, the 'nave' of a wheel (So Molesworth only!).

“शोभनमस्य चक्रस्य नैमित्तुम्बारम्,”—99.

तुल्ययेतिगत्वं, 'equal applicability', 134.
 तूपर (=श्रुंगरहित. See Sāyaṇa on T. S. vii, 5. 1. 2),—40,
 154. (See *Vedic Index*).

तरणी होम, 577.

"तेजः संस्तवो श्राद्धणस्य etc," 731.

“तेनावभृथं यन्ति,” 480.

त्रयीविद्यः, 'knowing 3 Vedas', 279.

“अधा तु पञ्चधा तु वेदो स्तुताति,” 429.

“त्रिवृद्गिनस्त्रिवृद्गिनष्टोमः etc.”, 162.

“त्रिवृद्धघृष्णपवमानं पञ्चदशान्याज्यानि”, 535.

"त्रिरातं त्रीश्च देचान्", the 33 gods,— (R V 3 6 9),—271
 "त्रीणि ह वे यजस्योदराणि etc , 573
 "त्रीएषेतानि हर्वीषि भवन्ति etc , 522 (T S V 5 1 7)
 'त्रीन् ललामान्',— Three with marks , 444 (cf त्रयःकृष्णललामाः of T S 5 6 20)
 "त्रेधा तस्तुलान्विभजेत्" 708—9 (T S 2 5 5 2)
 त्रयीष्य 'hewing 3 sacred ancestors , 629
 "दक्षिणास्य हविर्धीनस्याधस्ताश्चार उपरवाः etc , 427 [Apastamba Śrauta sā 11 1]
 "दक्षिणा सोमस्य," 391
 "दक्षिणे हविर्धीने सोममासादयति", 394
 दरडकालतन्त्र 'like the measuring [of a piece of ground] with a stick' (See Com on Apast Śrauta xi 12 6 and my note in J R & S for 1912, p 744], 569 [& Vol 2, p 521]
 'दरडी प्रैपातन्याह' 479
 "दरडेन दीक्षयति," 578
 ददाति (=दान), defined as the actual *transfer* to another of the thing given, 484
 "दधनि चर्हं श्रृते चर्हम", 710 (T S 3 5 91)
 "दध्ना जुहोति," 494
 "दध्नेन्द्रियकमस्य जुहुयात्," 493
 "दध्वरासि etc ", 283 (T. S 1 6 1 6)
 "दर्भमयं चासो भवति" 772
 "दर्भमयी रशना भवति" (Satap VIII 1 1 2),—378
 दर्विदोम, an oblation made with a ladle or 'an oblation of a *darvi* spoonful of boiled rice to Indra and may be considered as part of the Gṛhamedhyā *isti*, being, as it were an offering of remains, like all *saḥasra* offerings, the *darvihoma* is performed by the *Adhvaryu* while seated on the north side of the fire' [Eggeling's note on Satap II 5 3 17],—762,
 दर्शन=उशारण in 1 1 18 (p 29), the utterance {of a word}'
 दर्शपूर्णमासन्याय, 504

“दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत्” 598,604,607,620,635,682, 697.

“दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यामिष्टा सोमेन यजेत्” (T. S. 2.5.6.1),—195, 526,597: with दर्शपूर्णमासौ etc,510,737.

“दर्शो च एतयोः पूर्व, etc.” 532.

“दश च मसाधर्यद्यः etc.” 399.

दश दाढिमानि an example of अनुपपत्नाधर्यवचन.—13,497 (an अनर्यकवचन). [Mahābhāṣya vol 1. p. 38].

दशमुष्टिपरिमित सोम, 152—3; 303.

“दशमुष्टिमिमीते,” 302.

“दशयशायुधानि” (T. S. 1.0.8.3),—214. (See under यशायुध).

“दशापविद्येण ग्रहं संमार्द्दि” 225,230, 378. (See ग्रहैकत्यन्याय in *Maxims*, iii).

दाच्चायणयश्च, a peculiar modification of the new and full moon sacrifices originated by the Dāksayānas—a royal family. [See Satap. 2.4.4 and Eggeling's long note at the beginning of it.]—179,180.

दानदोमपाकाः, 716.

दाशतय, ten-fold, relating to R. V. with its 10 mayḍalas,—258.

दीक्षणीयेष्टि, ‘consecration offering’,— (Eggeling on Satapatha 3.1.3),—383,535,566.

“दीक्षाः सोमस्य,” 391.

“He cuts (a tree for) a sacrificial post at the time of initiations” (Kunte).

“दीक्षासु यूपं छिनस्ति,” 551. Cf Āpast. Srauta X. 4.14 (with कारयात्).

दीर्घसोम=सोमयागविरोप (Mādhwā), 301.

“दीर्घसोमे सन्तुत्याद्भूत्या” (T. S. 6.2.11.3), 301.

“तुर्यर्णोऽस्य भ्रातुच्य..” (T. B. 2.2.4.6), 326.

दुष्टु हि प्रानं मित्या, 8.

“दत्तिनयनीतमाज्यम्”, ‘butter consisting of butter [long-stored] “in a boat” “in a” [for use in a श्येत = sacrifice],—431.

दृष्टे हि तस्यार्थः कर्मावधोधनं नाम,—2.

'We see that its [i. e. the *veda*'s] object is the laying down and enjoining of a certain action. [Quoted in *Sankara's bhāṣya*, vol 1, p. 49]

देवदत्तः प्रातरपूर्वं भक्षयति etc , 548.

"देवस्य त्वा सावेतुः प्रसवे" (T. S. 1.8 7.2), 7.1 11 1, 132.

"देवा ऋग्ययो गन्धर्वास्तेऽन्यत आसन् etc " (Cf. T. S. 2.4.1.1),—523.

देवानां प्रिय, 684.

"देवा है देवयजनमध्यवसाय etc., " 39 (T. S. 6.1.5.1).

"देवा है शम्यं चार्हस्पत्यमद्वृत्त् etc., " 324 (T. S. 2.6.10 1).

"देवा है सत्रमासत्" (T. S. 1.6.1.3), 605 6.

"देवा है स्थिष्टकृतमद्वृथन् हृष्यं नो वहेति," 338, 342, 455.

"देवेभ्यो यनस्पते हृष्टापि etc., " 79 (T. B. 3.6.11.2).

"दैवतान्यवदाय etc., " 562.

द्रव्यसंस्कार, 'preparatory operations performed on Sacrificial Substance's (Kunte), 427.

"द्वादशदीक्षा," 712. See X. 2 27.

"द्वादशरात्रीदीनितो भृति चन्चीत्," 'should procure food (by begging),—713,771.

"द्वादश है रात्रयः संबत्सरस्य प्रतिमा," 760.

द्वादशहृत is the amount of *dakṣinā* to be given to a priest at the *Jyotiṣṭoma*,—412,749—59.

"द्वादशाहेन प्रजाकामेन याजयेत्," 634.

"द्विरैन्द्रवायवस्य भक्षयति etc., " 348.

"द्विर्हयिषोऽवदानं," 336,559.

"द्विवचनवहुवचनान्तानामसमाप्त," 757.

द्विरेप, 'having a remainder twice' (from soma being poured into a cup twice without its being washed). See Kunte's note,—267.

"द्विष्टानि वाक्यानि," 'ambiguous sentences', (*Mahābhāṣya*, vol. i, p. 14, and *Nāgess'a*, vol i, p. 51),—492,493 (singular).

द्वैयद्वकाल्य, 'belonging to 2 days,—595.

द्वचवदान, 'cutting off two' (pieces of the Puroऽसा^{मूर्ति}—a double oblation (Kunte), 336, 674, 676—7.

"द्वचवदानं करोति," 336.

"द्वचवदानं जुहोति," 674.

"द्वचदं नाशनाति etc.," 415.

"द्वचदं साकमेधैः," 549.

द्वचाम्नाता मन्त्राः, mantras which appear in the Veda,—419.

"धर्मप्रजासम्पन्ने दारे नान्यां कुर्वीत" (Smriti), 768.

धर्म प्रति विश्वितप्राप्त वद्विदः—'There is great difference of opinion among learned men in regard to Duty',—3.

"थर्मे चार्थे च कामे च नातिचरितव्या (स्मी)," 611—12,767.8.

धार्या, certain Rik verses, 570. See Kunte on 5.3.5.

धार्मिक, defined as one who offers sacrifice, 5.

धूपा, a spoon for ghee (See Eggeling's note, vol i, p. 67),—342, 388,477.

"न कलञ्जं भक्षितव्यं न लगुनं etc.," 644.

"न केसरिणे ददाति न उभयतोदितः प्रतिगृह्णाति" (केसरिन् = अश्व), 744.

नक्षेपेति (See Index to Jhā), 564.

न च फलसे उपपद्यमाने कलृप्यः शपथः कलृपयितुम्, 414.

न च हृषे कारणे सत्यदृष्टं कलृपयितुं शप्यते, 11.

न च पदार्था एव वाक्शर्थार्थः etc., 32.

न च स्तिग्धस्य स्नेहानं शुतम्, 459.

"न तानणन्ति etc" (R.V. vi.28.3), 124.

नदीयेगस्थानीय, 717.

नद्यास्तीरे फलानि, 4.

"न पिता धर्थते न माता etc.," 428.

न पुनरुक्ता मदान्दोषः, 476.

"न प्रथमयने प्रवृंज्यात् etc.," 304 (See Eggeling on 3.4.4.1).

"नर्तु स प्रतीक्षेष्व नक्षप्रम्," 592.

नवनीत, 431—2
 “नवनीतेनाभ्युक्ते,” (T S 6 11 5), 318
 “नव प्रयाजा इज्यन्ते नवानुयाजा” (T B 1 6 3 3),—568
 नष्टाश्वदधरथ्याय, 109 (Mahābhāṣya, vol 1, p 125)
 न सप्तदशावरा. फलसमवाये भवेत्, ” 665
 न सर्वायाहुलिं दद्यात्, 646
 न हि कपाले नष्टे लदन्वेषणार्था इष्टिर्युक्ता, 512
 न हि काकिन्यां नष्टायां etc, 512
 न हि निन्दा निन्द्यं निन्दितुं प्रयुज्यते etc, 203
 न हि मन्दविषेण धृत्यिकेनाऽपि दष्ट् etc, 185
 न हि वचनशतेनाप्यनारम्भोऽर्थे. etc, 215.
 न हि सज्जि चाससि वा भिन्ने etc, 658
 न द्युकृते प्रयोजने कश्चित्प्रतिपादयितुमर्हति, 356
 न द्याक्षातेऽर्थं कश्चिद्दुदिसुपलभते,—⁹ (Quoted in Nyāyamañjari,
 pp 17,162)
 न द्यनभिधाय मुख गौणमभिवदति शब्द, 245
 न द्यन्यस्य वित्तथभाषेऽन्यस्य वैतर्यं भवितुमर्हति, 5
 न द्यप्रतीते विषेपणे विशिष्टं केचन प्रत्येतुमर्हन्ति, 82
 न द्यप्राप्तस्य प्रतिषेध, 629 (T S 6 3 1 5)
 “नाध्यर्युसपगायेत्” 401
 नानावीजेष्टि, a Sacrifice at which various kinds of grain are
 used, 562
 “नानूतं वदेत्” (T S 2 5 5 6), 318,440
 “नान्यस्य स्वरूपुर्यात् etc,” 467
 नामधेय, name (of a Sacrifice etc),—86,87,89—91,96,108
 नामानि, defined in sutra 2 1 3 —
 “Such words, on the utterance of which, the forms of the
 objects denoted are directly cognized, are nouns” (Jha).
 नामिक ‘relating to a name or noun
 (पर्यां विभक्तयो नामिक्य उच्यन्ते), 111.
 नाराशंसकल्प, 726—9

[“Nārāśamsa, ‘pertaining to Nārāśamsa (man’s praise, i. e Agni, or Soma, or the Fathers),’ is the name given to certain remains of soma-libations sacred to the Fathers, which in the nine soma cups, are temporarily deposited under the axle of the southern soma-cart, till they are drunk by the priests at the end of the libation.” Eggeling on 3 6.2.25].

नारिष्ठ होम, 564 (also X 401). See नक्षत्रेष्ठि in Index to Jha.

नावनीत, freshly-boiled butter, 96

“नासोमयाजी संश्येत्” (T. S. 2 5.5.1), 596.

“नास्या अश्वमयात्” (T. S. 2.5 1.6). 325-6.

नाहित द्वष्टुपुष्पन्नम्, 17.

निगद, the name of certain yajus mantras which being addressed to others are recited *loudly* (See under मन्त्र in the Index to Jha),—129,131,292.

निघन, the final or concluding word of a Sāman, to be sung in chorus by the Prastotar, Udgātar, and Pratibartar (See Eggeling’s long note on iv. 2 5.10). हीष् is the *nidhana* at the end of सौभरसाम् to be sung by one desiring rain, 165—6.

निनयन, pouring out of Sacrificial water, [See Satap 1 9.2.32. 33, and Kunte’s note on 4 2 14], 477

नियोगत., necessarily, of necessity, 643

निरालम्बन, ‘without support (i. e. ideas without external objects—the निरालम्बनवाद or Idealism of the Buddhists),—8.

निर्मन्त्य, ‘fire produced by friction’ to be taken in its literal sense in vedic texts,—96

निविद्, N. of short detached formulas inserted in a liturgy etc. (See Eggeling’s note on 1.4 2.1. and translation of iii.9).

“निवीतं मनुप्याणं etc.,” (T. S 2.11.1), 312.

निवृत्ति, cessation of application (in opp to प्रवृत्ति. See Kunte on 3 7.12), 392.

“निवेशुनं संगमनो वसूनां etc.” (V. S. XII 66. See गार्हपत्यन्याय in *Maxims*, III),—246

निपादस्थपतिन्याय, 632.

निष्क्रय, ‘buying off’—a ransom, an equivalent (the स्वस्त्र being thrown into the sacrificial fire *instead* of the चूप)—529, 694.

“नीचैःसदो मिनुयात्”, 417, 505.

नीलकौशेयसंवीताः (कादम्बाः) (‘geese clothed in black silk garments’), 33

“नीलोत्पलवतेष्यद्य चरन्तश्चाहसंरवाः” 33, 35.

नीवारः, a substitute for व्रीहि.—381—2,657,659,666,672.

नेमपिष्ट, half of flour (a certain चरु), 308—310.

“नोमे नयन्ति ऋभवो यथा,”—632 (R. V. VIII. 75, 5).

नेष्ट्रीया, verses to be recited by the *Neṣṭā* priest.

(T.B. 3. 12. 9. 5),—407, 421.

नैचाशाखं नाम नगरं etc., 58. [See RV. 3. 53 14, where Griffith renders it ‘low-born.’ Others take it as the name of a place. See *Vedic Index*. It gives a *wrong* reference to R. V.]

“नोद्यन्तमादियमीद्वेत नास्तं यन्तम्”, 439, 645, 689

“पंचदश सामिधेनीरःवाह” (T. S. 2. 5 82)—369. This is referred to as पांचदश्य, T.B. 3 12. 9. 8.

‘पंच पंचाशतस्त्रिवृतः संघस्त्रा etc., 755.

“पंचप्रयाजान्यजति” (Cf. T. S. 2. 6. 1. 4), 368.

पंचशुराव, ‘consisting of 5 cupfuls’, 683-5, 690, 701, 703.

पंचहोत्रु (cf. चतुर्द्वात्रु),—390.

पंचानां त्वा धातानां यन्त्राय भ्रात्र्य गृह्णामि” (T. S. 1. 6. 1. 2),—419.

पंचावत्त, ‘five times cut off or taken up’. See Eggeling’s note on पंचावत्तीय in vol. 3, p. 48),—754.

“पंचावत्तं जमृदग्नीनाम्,” 754.

पत्तिगणक, an officer appointed to count the infantry (?), 102.

पक्षीसंयाजा , 299 (see Index to Jha)

“पक्षी चै परिणाय्यस्य ईष्टे etc 612 (Cf TS 6 2 1 1)

“पक्षीं सप्तष्टु आज्येनोदेहि,” 423

पदकर्मन्, the action connected with the 7 stakes taken by the cow to be given for purpose of soma (See Satap 3 3 1 Kunte renders this “causing the cow to walk”), 451

पदपांशु, the dust from the seventh foot print of the सोमक्रयणी which is scraped up by the priest with his own hands and sprinkled on the axles of the soma carts (See Madhavi and Satap 3 3 1), 451

पदवास्यार्थन्यायविद्, an epithet given to the author of a verse on विधि, 490

पदानि स्तं स्वं पदार्थमभिधाय निवृत्तव्यापाराणि, etc 34

पदार्थनुसमयन्याय, 557

“पदु वा पतत् ग्रामशानं यच्छ्रद् ,” 626 (‘A walking cemetery’, quoted in the Vedanta Sutra bhasya 1 3 38 Compare Vaishnava Dharmasastram xviii 11, that of Āpristambha 1,3 9 9)

“पयसा मैत्रायस्णं श्रीणाति” (See मैत्रायस्णं etc)

पयस्या, a dish of curds offered to Mitra and Varuna (Eggenling on 2 4 4 14), 477

पयोव्रत, ‘the living on milk alone, of the sacrificer and his wife during the performance of a Jyotistoma , 772

“पयोव्रतं ग्राह्यस्य ” (T S 6 2 5 3), 495, 623, 772

परक्रिया (कृति), one of the many kinds of Brahman (as distinguished from Mantra) ‘A description of something done previously by a single person Transl Tantravartika on 2 1 33 p 572)—127, 753, 755

“पररथैर्चा एते स्वर्गं लाकं यन्ति येऽनाहिताग्नय सप्तमासते,” 737

“परा वा पतस्यायु प्राण पर्ति याऽग्नुं गृह्णाति ” (T S 3 3 4 2),—573

परिक्रिय, hire, wages hiring engaging for wages,—339—40 396, 412

परिक्रीत, hired, engagid—397

परिचारकत्व, the position of attendant i. e. one of subordination,—742, 745.

परिधि, the name given to the 3 logs of wood placed on the north, south, and west sides of the altar [Eggeling, Vol 1, p 87, calls them 'enclosing sticks'. See Katyāyana Śrauta ii. 221, p 172],—118, 509—10

परिभाषितव्य, 'to be regarded as having a technical signification',—1.

परिभोजनीयवर्हिष्ट, unconsecrated (i. e. असंस्कृत) grass,—429. “[पवित्रनिष्पत्तिरपि शास्त्रीयलवनादिसंस्कारवर्हितैः परिभोजनीयतामकैदर्भेः संपादनीया”—Madhava; “असंस्कृतादेव पवित्रादि कार्यम्”—Sauradipikā].

“परिधीर्णास” (T. S. 1. 3. 6. 2],—422.

“परिद्याणं कृत्वोपाकरेति पगुम्,” 527.

परिसंख्या, 402, 676—7.

परिसंख्यायां स्थार्थहानि परार्थकल्पना ग्राह्तयाधिक्य, 402.

परीष्टि=परीक्षा in Satra 1. 1. 3.

परोक्षं प्रत्यक्षस्य वाधकं न भवति, 438.

पर्यग्निकरण, carrying fire round a sacrificial animal (Satap. 3. 8. 1. 6),—115, 118. Also waving fire etc. round the head of a returned traveller 1—117 [See Eggeling's long note on 1. 2. 2. 13]

“पर्यग्निकृतं पाञ्चावतमुत्सज्जति” (T. S. 6. 6. 6. 1),—187.

पर्याप्ति, the third and concluding part of the Bahispatyanāna stotra (Kunte, 5. 3. 7), 571—2.

पर्युदास, 'exclusion' (of the Sūdra), 624.

पर्वदू (=परिपदू), 'an assembly,' 'society,' 634.

पवमानेष्टि, an oblation to Agni payamāna (Satap. 2. 2. 1. 6, and see Eggeling's long note. Also T.B. 1. 1. 5. 10, and Kunte on 3. 6. 11), 370—2, 431, 575.

पवित्र, the purificatory ceremony at the commencement of a राजसूय,—516. (See note on Satap. 5. 2. 3. 1). See J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 302.

पवित्र, a 'trainer (or purifier) consisting of 2 blades of Kuṣa grass of equal length [See Eggeling's note on Śatap 1 1 3 1, and Kātyāyana Śrauta n 75 (p 127) Jhā (p 269 of Prab. Mīmāṃsā) says they are used for *sprinkling water*. The *Vedic Index*—“The sieve used for purifying the Soma” and “seems clearly to have been made of sheep's wool”], 429

“पशुकाम उक्त्यं गुह्यायात् etc”, 384

“पशुरन्वस्य यज्ञकतो पद्म ऋत्विज. etc” (TS 2 3 6 3 etc), 491.

“पशुमालमेत” (TB 1 5 9 7),—608—9

“पश्वद्वं रशना चेत् etc,” 528

पश्वेकत्वन्याय, 443

पष्टौही (fem. of पष्टयह),—a cow, 516 [Wrongly given as य in Sabara. In both edns of Madhava it is प्र (with पृ as variant in one) and defined thus—“याघता घयसां घर्वत्रयरूपेण पृष्टे भारं चोहुं शकिर्भवति ताघदयस्का प्रष्टौही” See Vedic Index]

“प्रष्टौही दीप्तिः” ‘he gambles with a cow (as stake)’,—516-17 (cf. Apast. Sr XVIII: 19 2)

पाच्चदश्य, 369 (See “पंचदशसामिघेनी.”)

पाठक्रम, textual sequence,—537, 540, 546, 586 Kātyāyana Sr : 81

पाणिमात्रपुष्करा, (उपभूत) ‘a latte with a bowl of the size of a hand’ (See Eggeling's note on 1311) Printed text erroneously reads प्रा, 564

पात्नीयतग्रह (See Index to Jhā), 187, 269

पायिकृतीय, relating to Agni (पथिकृत) 257

पारित्वत, 122 [अश्यमेधे यत्त्वं स्तोमे च पारित्वतं शंसन्ति Bhamati p-252]

पार्युरदम N of a Saman, 491

पिकनेमसततामरसादिशब्दा, 71 Samples of words in use among Mlechhas

पिङ्गल (and his first sutra) quoted — 16

पिण्डपिनृयज्ञ (Satap 11 + 2) — 389 829 — 7 766 — 7

पुत्रनि श्रयसाय, 511 — 12

पुन श्रुति repetition 156 166 1/7

पुनराधेय, the re establishment of the Sacred fire (Satap 223 and note on 451 13) — 719

पुनरक्त, repetition tautology — 476 (अथभयेन पुनरुक्त नेच्छान्ति, अर्थात् ग्रहणात् विभयत पुन वुनरभिर्धायम नं वहु मन्यन्ते)

“पुरस्तात्ौर्णमास्याश्चतुरहे दीक्षेरक्” (T S 7482 wh reads चतुरहे पुरस्तात् etc) — 713

“पुरस्तात्तुपस्तदं स्तोम्येन प्रचरणि ति etc (T B 1812), — 518, 526 Apast Sr xxii 133

पुराकृत्य, one of the division of the Brahmanas — a description of something done formerly by many people (Trans of Tantravart p 572) 127 703,755

‘पुरा वस्तानामुपाकर्तांदैश्वरी अद्वीयाताम्’, 696 — 7

‘पुरपूर्णमुपदधा ति,’ 727

पुरपार्थ, something wh tends to the advantage of the Sacrificer — 435 — 6 [क्रतृपैय म क्रत्वर्थं पुरपाय य स पुरपार्थ]

पुरादाश (says the purapak 10) is only applied to a cake made of consecrated flour — but this is disproved by examples from ordinary life Cf ‘पुरोडाशेन मे माता प्रह्लादं ददाति See ग्रहेत्क infca) 94

पुराडाश आग्नेय कर्तव्य ,” 336

पुरोडाशपालेन तुपानुपवपति 452 728 तुगा उपवपन्ति should be तुपान् (?)

“पुरोडाश पर्यामिकरोति,” 225

‘पुरोडाशशक्लमै द्रव्यायवस्य पात्रे etc 489

पुरोनुघाक्ष्या, an introductory verse 408 [In Satap 23 221 Eggeling renders it The invocatory prayer The Vedic

Index defines it as "The technical term for the address to a god inviting him to partake of the offering it was followed by the yājya, wh accompanied the actual oblation ']

"पुरोहितं वृणीत," 731

पुष्कर, the bowl part of a ladle —564 [See Eggeling on 131 1, and Vedic Index] Apast Sraut xiv 24 12

पूतीक an authorized substitute for the soma plant [See Vedic Index] —383,659—60 669

पूर्णक, a man's name(?) (See Kunte's note on 3230),—268,615

'पूर्वस्यां दिर्य एता देवता etc ',643

"पूर्वपरीभूतं भावमारशातेनाचष्टे etc , ' 13

'पूर्वेनुराग्ने गृह्णाते etc ", 595

"पूर्वदुरमध्यास्याया येदिं भ्रोति " 553

"पृषुपाजयःयौ 'पार' " 'those two verses The first of which begins with the word पृषुपाज are Dhīyā? (Kunte See R N 327 56 and Apast Srauta 19 18 3) 570

"पृषदान्येनानुयायान्यज्ञते ' (T S 6 3 11 6) 457,560,563,568

[In Satap 25 2 41 Eggeling renders पृषदान्य by "clotted butter " and in a note adds '(lit mottled butter) is clarified butter mixed with sown milk.]

पृष्टवामत् See धराजपृष्ट

पृष्टाकोटि, 'twisting of the back — in turning from side to side to point out and explain diff things to a pupil Kumānta (p 416) explains it thus —

"धरणिगतानेकद्वयप्रत्येकनिरीक्षणे पुन पुन पृष्टं कुटिली-किरत इति तस्मामन्येन पृष्टामोटाभिधागम् " See Trans p 570] —123

पोत्रीया The Rik verses to be recited by the pota priest —407, 421 (T B 3 12 9 5) Cf Apast Sr viii 24 8 9

"पौराणी उवसहस्रं दक्षिणा " 329

"पौर्णमासीमेव यजेत भ्रातृव्ययान् etc 648—9 655

पौर्णपेषण, an offering to pushan,—203,306—7

"प्रउगं शुसन्ति", The prauga Sastra is the name of second hymn at morning oblation (M W. See Eggeling's note Vol 2 p 324), 118

प्रकरण 'context' (Jhā),—140,282,284

"प्रकृतिप्रथयौ प्रत्ययार्थं सह दूत" (Mahabhaṣya 3 1.67, vārt 2),—320

प्रचरणी, a ladle,—551

"प्रचरण्यम्" (R V 1 109 6),—256 283, (in both instances Śabara has प्रय)

"प्रजाकामं चतुदोऽत्रा याजयेत् etc", 702

"प्रजाकामो यजेत्," 640

"प्रजापर्ति वै प्रजा सृजमानं etc", 756

"प्रजापतिरात्मनो वपामुदविदत्" (T S 2 1 1 4),—39

"प्रजापतिवेद्यायाश्वमनयत्,"—(T S 2 3 12 1),—332.

"प्रजापतिर्वा अग्निष्टोम् etc", 583

"प्रजापतिर्वा इदमेक आसन्ति etc", 278 (T S 2 1 1 4)

प्रजापतिव्रत (= ग्रहचारिव्रत?)—See Manu iv 37 and Brahma Saṭra bhāṣya 1 1 4 (p 76),—328,438,41,645

"प्रजामुत्पादयेत्", 651

प्रणाद्या, 'mediately,' 'indirectly' (in opp to साक्षात्),—391

प्रणीताः (आप , certain Sacrificial *vessels* filled with consecrated water. [See Eggeling's note on 1 1 1 20 and xii 9 3 8] —477

"प्रणीताभिर्द्वीपि संयौति," 477 [In his Index to Apast' Srauta, Garbe renders प्रणीता 'holy water']

"प्रणोदेयी सरस्वती" (T S 1 8 22 1), 545

"प्रतितिष्ठान्ते ह वा एते य पत्ता उपपन्ति." 501

प्रतिनिधि, a substitute,—तीवारा for द्वोहि, 381,382 (The former inferior to the latter) 659 पूर्तीक for सोम,—393,649, 663 666

प्रतिपस्तिकर्म The final disposing of all the materials used at a Sacrifice thus, the black antelope's horn is thrown into

the चात्याल whilst remnants of cake etc are eaten and drunk (See Jhā's *Prabhākara* A/I pp 172,199,218),—253,474—5,477,698

प्रतिपद्, a Rik to be recited at the beginning of a Stotra (Mādhaba 4)

[In Āpast Śrauta n 92 The word प्रतिपदि is explained by "प्रथमायामृच्यारंभे या" in the com! In the Index Garbe renders it introductory verse],—297.

प्रतिप्रधानमाचर्चन्ते गुणा, 287 See a passage on 16 (See Maxims, Part iii)

प्रतिप्रसव, a counter order, an exception, 750

"प्रतिप्रस्थात सवसीयान्विषपस्येति प्रेप्यति"

प्रतिसमानी There are 2 examples of this verb (perhaps from Śrauta Sutra) on p 542 The abridged St Petersborg alone shows नी with the 3 upasargas, and gives Āpast Śrauta 7 14 8 (प्रतिसमानाय) as an example

प्रतिद्वाम, a supplementary oblation to be offered when certain ceremonies have been omitted during a Jyotiṣṭoma (See Mādhaba and Kunte on 6 5 40) 717—8

प्रतीक (?), 155—6

प्रत्यक्ष, defined,—6

प्रत्यक्षस्तु क्लेषो याग, 642

प्रत्यगात्मक, 'The individual himself' —395 See J K A § 1914, p 304

प्रत्याम्ना ('प्रत्यान् लेत्' in Sātri 6 4 30), 'To take the place of,' to be substituted for something else The noun प्रत्याम्नाय is used in explaining it, wh according to the Vachaspati am, means 'a substitute' So, too प्रत्याम्नान लेत, in his Index to the Āpast Śrauta Sutris, Garbe renders both of them 'Corollary' !,—691

प्रत्याम्नाय, 692 (See above)

"प्रत्येकं याऽप्यपरिसमानि ", 223

(Panibhāṣā See Mahābhāṣā, Vol I, p 57 etc)

“प्रदोपमग्निहोत्रं हानवं व्युष्ट यां प्रात्.”, 648—9

“प्रपिष्टानं कर्तव्या” (i.e. the रश्नन् is to be made of crushed दर्म),—378

प्रभुत्ययोग, ‘the relation of lordship or ownership’ (with reference to the meaning of सर्वस्य in connection with विश्वजित्), 742—3

प्रमगन्दो राजा (Rv. iii 53 14) The king of the Kikatas See Vedic Index, 58

प्रमत्तगीत, ‘sung by (or song of) a mad man or drunkard’ (See same in Mahābhāṣā vol i, p 3),—160 231

प्रयत्नेनान्विच्छलन्तो न चेद्वेषमवगच्छेमहि etc 8 (Quoted in Nyāyaamanjū, p 173)

“प्रयाजेषेषण हव्याद्यभिघारयति” 457

प्रयाजः ‘fore offerings’—“oblations of clarified butter introductory to the chief Sacrifice” (note to Satap. 1.3 2 8) There are 5 of them corresponding with the 5 seasons (1 5 3 1),—563

“प्रयाजे प्रयाजे शुप्णुल जुहोति” 367,531 (T. S 2.3,2.3. and Apast. Srauta xix 21 10).

प्रयोगकालःद्वितेतद्वं सदनुपकारकं भवति, 438

प्रयोगप्राशुभावात् ‘on all of rapidity of utterance (?)’,—537.

प्रवर The call to Agni or to a priest to assist at a Sacrifice (See Satap. 1.4 2 1, and 1.5 1 1-Also Kunte on Sutra 3.5 44 and Vedic Index),—128,360—1.

प्रवर्ग्य, the offering of heated milk as introductory to a Soma Sacrifice, 304 (See Eggehng on 3 4 4 1).

प्रवीण; a sequence determined by the procedure, or order of commencement (of a series of acts, to be followed throughout),—537,542,550,587.

प्रसह्यकारिन्, 101,682

प्रस्तरप्रहरणःयाय, 252,698—9. (See Maxims iii)

‘प्रस्तोता प्रस्तौति etc.’, 397.

“प्रहृत्य परिधीन् जुहोति हारियाजतम्” (cf. Ap. 1st Srauta viii 17 1), 509

प्रहेलकं, a sweetmeat (a Purodas'a as such),—94

प्राक्तमिक 'one who undertakes much without finishing anything' (Said to occur in com on Gout Dharma Śāstra 9 73) प्राक्तमिकोऽयं कापुरुष 504.

“प्राचीनवशं करोति” (T S 6 1 1 1) 317.

“प्राचीं देवा अभजन्त” (Ditts),—316

“प्राचीमाहूरति” etc (cf T B 3 2 1 3) 472 (प्राची is the name of a *branch*—not of a region)

“प्राणभृत उपदधाति” [प्राणभृतः is the name of certain bricks forming one of the layers of the Sacrificial altar Satap viii 1 17],—105

“प्राणापानवेधामन्यत्तं” (T S 2 5 2 4) 322

“प्रात् प्रातरनृतं ते थदन्ति” etc 198 (Ait Br v 31, vol 3, p 192)

प्रातरनृवाक्, 'morning hymn' [“the Prataranuvāka, or morning prayer has to be recited by the Hotṛi in the latter part of the night before any sound (of birds etc) is to be heard. It may begin immediately after midnight and conclude as soon as day light appears” Eggeling's note on Satap 3 9 3 10 For other references See *Vedic Index*] —107,409,551

प्रातर्दौह, 377

“प्रायणीयेषि, 'opening Sacrifice',—345 (Satap 3 2 3, and See Eggeling's long note on pūra 6 of same)

प्रायदर्शन (Sutra 2 3 16 “विशये प्रायदर्शनात् is rendered by Kunte—“In case of doubt the generality of texts (ought to determine the sense), and by Jhā—“In a doubtful case, the correct conclusion is arrived at by a perception of similarity”,—184

प्रायिक 'usual,—125,126,127

प्राये (in Sutra 22.12 'प्रायेदर्शनात्') is rendered thus by Jhā—
"Also because the Sacrifice in question is mentioned in Vedic texts as if it were a primary Sacrifice Kunte's transn. of the Sutra is—"(It is in original statement) because something is frequently described (as principal and important),—146

प्रावर्तिकक्रमःयाय (See प्रवृत्ति), 542

प्राशित्र The portion of the Havis eaten by the Brāhmaṇa at a Sacrifice [In a note on 17.4.10 Eggeling says—
'According to Katy. in 4.7 the *pratitṛ*, or Brāhmaṇa's portion, is to be of the size of a barley or pippala berry"], 241,676

प्रासनः The throwing of the black deer's horn into the pit (चात्याल) as in Sat 4.4.5.2 and T. S 6.1.3.8,—478—9.
प्रीति, secular pleasure, the desire of gain, is said to be the motive for man's action,—435,438

प्रीतिहिं स्वर्गं स्वर्गेष्व प्रीतिं प्रार्थयते,—500

"प्रैतु होतुश्वमस etc",—349, 350,356 (Satap 4.2.1.29 and Apast Sr xii 23.13)

प्रैष, 'an order',—408,423,772 ["A liturgical term meaning 'direction' or 'invitation', repeatedly found in later Samhitās and Brahmanas' *Vedic Index*]

प्रैपर्यकारिन् The performer of the sense of a Sacrificial direction,—424

प्रोक्षणी (in Sutra 14.11), to be taken in its literal (यांगिक) sense,—95

"प्रोक्षणीरासादय. etc",—95,423,772 (Apast Sravta 2.3.11),
फलचमस, a cup containing crushed figs of the Juncus Indica with Sour milk, as a Substitute for Soma juice (See com² on Apast. Sravta xii 24.5), 362, Said to be inferior to Soma, 351.

फलदर्शनात्कानि फलवन्ति, 496

फलवत्सन्निधेस्तु श्राधारादीन्यारादुपकारकाणि, 141

फलवत्सन्निधावफलं तदङ्गं, 525, 532 (*See Matsims 11*)

वर्हिरदेवसदनं जातिवाचिता, 94 Maitr Sanhitā 112 (Bloomfield)

वर्हिरादिशब्दानां दामि" 1—243, 660

वर्हन्यार्थ, 243

‘वर्हिपा यूपावटमघस्तृणति” 428

“वर्हिपा यै पौर्णमासे व्रतमुपयन्ति,” 694,696 1

‘वर्हिषि हवीषि आसादयति” 387

वर्हिस is the ordinary equivalent of तृण and *not* restricted to consecrated grass,—94

घल्वज, a kind of coarse grass,—116

घदिरङ्गत्य, 548

घदिवेदि, outside the sacrificial ground or altar, 392

घदिपवमान (स्तोथ),—551 [“The first stotra at each pressing is called *pavamana* (purifying, i.e during the chanting of which the soma becomes clarified) viz the *Bahupavamana* at the morning, the *Madhyandina* *pavamāna* at the mid day, and the *Arbhava* (or *tritiya*) *pavamāna* at the evening pressing The other Stotras are called *Dhurja*, to be harnessed, belonging to or forming a team” Eggeling's note on iv 2 5 7]

बहुकृत्येऽपि पर्यं वेदितव्यं भवति, 476 (an illustration to show that repetition is sometimes necessary, and is not then a fault)

बहुपुराजप्रतिमेपु उपविष्टेषु यस्य श्वेतं छत्रं वालग्यजनं च स
राजेत्यवगम्यते, 282

बहुचग्राहण, 194 653 *Apast Sraut* xiii 4 22

“याण्डवन्तः परिधय”, enclosing logs made of बाण wood (?) [In a letter dated 12 Aug 1912, Jhā says that बाण is

some kind of wood, but that it is impossible to say what that wood is],—118. See परिधि.

पाद्रायण, mentioned in Sutra,—7,565,608.

पादरि mentioned in Sutra,—209,622.

बाह्द्रिर, N. of a Saman,—491 [named after वृहद्रिरि a yati mentioned in the Pañcavimsa Brāhmaṇa *Vedic Index*]

“बाह्द्रिरं व्रात्यणस्य व्रह्मसाम् कुर्यात्”, 491,623,733,735.

“वृहद्रथन्तरं पृष्ठं भवति”,—729.

वृहस्पति सव,— 507,514 [It is performed by a Brāhmaṇa with a view to obtaining the office of Purohita (royal chaplain, or family priest). Āśvalāyana places it on a level with the Rajasuya. Eggeling's note on Satap. v.2.1.19].

“वैल्वो यूपो व्रह्मवर्च्यसकामेन कर्तव्य.” (cf. T. S. 2.1.8.1),—370
(See Āpast. Dharma Sutra 1.9.26.8, and Gaut. Dharma xxiii. 17. Also Sankara's Bhāṣya 3.4.41 and Thibaut).

“व्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी निन्नेत गर्दभमालभेत” (sh: sacrifice an ass to Nirriti), 769.

व्रात्यण, as distinct from mantra, defined,—(Āpast. Srauta xxiv. 1.31.32), 127.

“व्रात्यणं पृणीते etc”,—398.

“व्रात्यणं परिक्षीणीयत् etc”,—347 (T. B. 1.8.6.2)

मत्ति, figurative language,—433.

“भक्तेहि माऽविश दीर्घायुत्वाय etc,” 262 (T. S. 3.2.5.1).

भयता शाकमप्यादत्तव्यमिति काप्तादरये शाकादरणमुपाधिः, 501.
भयन्ति घकारः 'they say', or 'so people say', 94,95. Here

and on p. 484, it is घकारो भयन्ति. See J.R.A.S. 1914, pp: 306,734,208,484. [See Kielhorn's paper in J.R.A.S. for 1898, pp. 19,20, on this expression in Mahābhāṣya, vol. i, pp. 5 and 250, vol. ii, pp. 272,417, which he regards as an adaptation of the Pāli *vattare hanti* of the Jātaka.]

“भसदा पद्मीः संयाजपन्निति etc”,—612 (भसद् = pudenda).

“मस्ममा इष्टकाः न्युज्यात्”, 380.

भास्त्, in a secondary sense, figurative, 434

“भार्या दासद्वच पुत्रद्वच निर्वताः सर्वं एव ते”, 611

भावशब्दाः, words expressive of भावना and producing *apurva*,—109, 111, 113, 124

भिष्मं कपालमप्सु प्रवहन्ति”, 680

“मिष्टे ज्ञुहोति स्फङ्ग ज्ञुहोति” [See Satap. xii 4 1 6 7 as to the *breaking* of a vessel or *spilling* of milk Also Āśvalāyana Srauta 3 11 6—11], 650, 656, 677, 680, 719 See J R A S, 1914, p 301

भिषज्, भिषक्ति [In the pres. Indic. it is found in R. V. viii 79 2 viz भिषक्ति विश्वं यनुरम् 'all that is sick he heals (or, according to Griffith, 'he medicines')'] Under Jaimini's Sutra 2 2 10, Sabara employs it in the sense of 'to remedy'. He says ज्ञानेयाऽनीषोमीयया निरन्तरं क्रिय-माणयोर्गामितादोष उक्त, तं भिषजितुमुपांगुयाऽजमन्तरा यजाति इति पिहितम्। That is in order to *remedy* the deficit that would be brought about by bringing those 2 offerings together, the *upāmsuyāja* is brought in between them. He then says—कथं तेन भिषजिष्यते—“how will it be remedied by that means? We thus have the verb in the Infinitive mood, active voice, and in the future Indicative, passive voice—145

भुक्तिभूतकदानादि, 717

भूर्त् भव्यायोपदिश्यते,—‘viz 2 1 4, 3 4 40, 4 1 18, 4, 2 10, 111 337, 347, 475, 600 [See *Maxims* iii]

“भूतेष्टका उपदधाति” (T S 5 6 3 1), 380, 573 575

भृगुगुनकवीसष्टाः, 736

भृति, food, nourishment ('भृतिय-वीत' चक्र to procure), 713

भोजनकालो चर्तते स्थालानि संमृत्यन्ताम् (where स्थालानि represents and includes all vessels in use when dining), 230

भ्रष्टे चावस्त्रेऽनुष्टायमानो यजमानस्य विगुणः स्थात् etc, 361

[The प्रवर् is here the subject] Cf. Pit. 1 2 64 (42)

भृणहन्, 608

मत्वं धैलक्षण्या, 'possessive indication , [by which term is understood the denoting a thing by some thing else connected with it as a quality etc , as when the word soma is made to denote a Sacrifice in which soma is used Thibaut's transl of *Arthasang aha*] —86

मध्यक (?) Is it = मध्यमक common (as property),—634—5

"मध्यत कारिणां etc [Apast Srauta xii 23 4 The com — explains this term by "होतूष्ट्रहोदातृयजमानसदस्यानाम् ", 267.

"मध्यन्दिनेऽपररात्रे या व्रत व्रतयति," 773

"मध्यमानामप्रयं दात्र पुरोडाया etc (T S 2 5 5 2, which reads ये मध्यमा. स्युस्तानग्रये etc),—705

"मध्या पूर्वाद्दूर्दयेदयम्" [i e a piece of the purodasa is to be cut from the middle and end as ध्यदान] ,674

मनोतामन्त्र [“॒वं हास्ते प्रथमो मनोता” Rv vi 111 T B 3 6 10 1],—562.

मन्त्र is merely अभिधानवाची and not विधायक,—Sutra 2 1 3 but some mantras are अनभिधायक, e g धसम्ताय कपिंजलानात्मते,—2 1 32 (p 128)

म-द्रामिधूति etc' (T S 3 2 5 1), 264 Rv x 128 1 "Let me win glory Agni in our battles (Griffith)

"ममाद्य वचों विहवेष्यस्तु",—425 (T S 4 7 14 1 See विहवा)

"मलघद्वाससा [खिया] न संगदेत् etc' (T S 2 5 1 5), 325

मलहा, having a dew lap (a cow etc), 516 (See Apast Srauta xviii 21 13)

"मस्तु पितृणां etc [T S 6 1 1 4 मस्तु is sour cream] —318

"मस्तु शुद्रस्य", 624

महाभाष्य, quoted 13 492

महायहा, there are 4 viz Agnihotra, New and Full moon, Jyotiṣṭoma, and Pippalapitṛ, 526

महायाक्ष्य, contrasted with अया-तरवाक्ष्य, 689

मानसुवावद्वरणं क्रमोऽभिपव are said to be the सोमधर्मां at a Jyotiṣṭoma —381

मानवर्णिक, contained in the words of a Vedic hymn,—90

Apast 6, vi 173 reads “यत्पशुर्मायुमरुतेति संशाते संशातद्वोमं जुहोति,” but the com says that the द्वोम was offered *only* because of the killing and not because of the मायुकरण ! See संशातद्वोम See J R A S, 1914 pp 305, 732 मायु, a cry of pain (दु यदेतुकशब्द) made by an animal when being killed for a sacrifice and which necessitates the संचितद्वोम (Sayan on T S 3 1 4 3), 772

“मासमग्निद्वोत्रं जुहोति etc 526, 196 [See Tavdya Br ११ ४ 1 and Thibaut's note on Vedanta Sutra 3 3 40]

मादाजानिक, 15

“मादे-द्रस्य स्तोतं प्रत्यभिविद्यते,’ 566

“मिषुन चै दधि च शृतं च etc, 450

“मियोऽसंयन्वन्याय, 236 [‘the axiom of mutual non connection (Kunte)]

मिथ्याशान, defined, 8

मुख्य (with गौण), defined —243—6

मुख्ये द्वि शद्मुपलभामदे भूमायर्थम् 13 (Quoted in Nyaya mañjari, pp 155, 241)

मुख्यक्रम, the sequence of the Principal in relation to Subsidiaries —537, 545, 587

“मुख्यगौणयोर्मुख्ये कार्यसंप्रत्यय.” (Mahābhāṣya 1 1, 5 and 6 3 46 etc) 246, 288, 714

“मुश्यन्वाद” (the man holding the peske next recites) 479

“मुख्यरामविति सेद्वियसाय,” 446 (T B 1 8 2 2)

“मुष्टिना पिधाय etc, 375

“मुष्टीकरोति धाचं यच्छ्रुतिं दीक्षितमोवेश्यति” (cf T S 5 2 1 7 1—239

“मूलत. धास्यो शास्यां परिवास्योपदेशं करोति” 473

मूर्पिकासूक्त, 122 [used at a sacrifice called पश्वकादेसिनी Kunte. See Jhā]

मृगतृष्णावत्, 432, 439, 531. (*Mahābhāṣya* iv. 1.3.)

“मेखलया दीक्षयति,” 578, 614. (T. S. 6.1. 5).

“मेघध्य यज्ञो यज्ञध्य त्यागः,” 415.

मेध्यतम, (conditions under which a man is) *most fit to sacrifice*,—415.

“मैत्रावरुणं पयसा श्रीणाति,” 379—80, 693 (T. S. 6.4.2),

“मैत्रावरुणाय दण्डं प्रयच्छति”, 478 (T. S. 6.1.4.8.2).

मोदकशुकल, 454.

म्लेच्छाः (See शिष्टाः)

“यः पशुकामः स्याऽमोऽमावास्यायामिष्टा ,” 701, 703.

यः प्रथमः शुक्लः परापतेत्स स्वरु. कार्यः,” 468 (cf. *Satap.* 3.6. 4.11). See *Āpast. Strauta* xiv. 23.1.

यः सत्राय शाशुरते,” 693.

यः सोमेन यद्यमाणोऽग्नीत्यादधीत etc.,” 588, 592.

यः सोमेनापद्यमाणोऽग्निमादधीत etc.,” 589.

“यः सोमेन यजेत सोऽग्निमादधीत,” 589.

“य इत्यथा पशुना यद्यमाणः etc., 595.

“य इष्टा पशुना सोमेन वा यजेत etc.,” 513.

“य पतामिष्टकामुपदध्यात्स त्रीन्वरान्दध्यात्” (T. S. 5.2.8.2, wh: reads योऽविद्वानिष्टकाः etc),—412.

“य पतानिष्टा अयान्येन यजेत etc.,” 584.

“य एवं विद्वांसः सत्रमासते etc, 732, 737.

“य एवं विद्वानन्निमापत्ते,”—280, 615, 623, 626.

“य एवं विद्वानन्निं चिनुते” (T. S. 5.5.2.1),—189, 521—2, 566, 574.

“य एव कश्चन स्तोममागमधीयीत स पव मङ्गा भवेत्,” 736.

य एव लौकिकाः शन्दास्त पव वैदिकास्त पवैपामर्थाः, 79.

य एव भ्रुतस्योत्सर्गे दोपः स एवाश्रुतपरिक्लिपनायाम्, 340.

“यद्यतुर्जुञ्ज्वा गृह्णाति ग्रहुश्यस्तद्गृह्णाति” (*Satap.* 1.3.2.8),—462.

यज्ञति (= याग), defined,—483

“यज्ञमानः प्रस्तरः”, “the grass-bedding is the master of the sacrifice” (Transn. of Tantravart., p. 441),—100.

“यज्ञमानचमत्तः सोममय एकेषां etc,” 735

“यज्ञमान पञ्चमा इदां भक्षयन्ति,” 676

“यज्ञमानस्य याज्या सोऽभिप्रेष्यति होतरेतयजेति etc,”—360.

“यज्ञमानो यूपः,” 103.

यज्ञस् is the name given to mantras which are *not* in metrical feet (like the ऋक्), or set music (like the सामन्),—129.

“यज्ञगत्या परिदध्यते etc.”, 571.

यज्ञपात्राणि, the sacrificial vessels used by an आहिताश्चि must be burnt with his body when he dies (See *Asval. Grhya Sutra* 4.2.1),—442,739.

यज्ञफल्तु, a sacrificial ceremony or rite,— (See a good example in Satap. x. 4 3.4, also 1 x. 3.3 1), 402, 583—5, 481.

“यज्ञवैश्वसाय धा इदं कर्म,” 529.

“यज्ञायर्चणां चै काम्या इष्टयः etc.”, 430.

“यज्ञायद्वीयं गायति”,—280 (The N. of a Sāman).

यज्ञायुधानि, the ten sacrificial utensils (as per T. S. 1.6.8.3),—214,441.

यज्ञधर्चर (यज्ञप्रचारहेतु Madhava), ‘having its sphere in the sacrifice’ (MW), 237.

“यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवाः” (Rv. 1.164.50, A. vii 5.1),—51, 127 (as an example of the पुराकरण type of Brāhmaṇa).

“यज्ञो द्वि यज्ञस्य प्रायश्चित्तिः,” 680.

यत्कालं मर्दनं तत्कालं मर्दनसुखं, 506 (T. S. v. 6 8.1 with मिन्नुयात्).

“यत्पद्मसम्मतं विनुयात् etc.”, 199,205.

“यत्पद्मिदितं तदेवानां etc.”, 317 (T. B. 1.6 8 6).

“यत्पद्मायुमकृत् etc.”, 772 (T. S. 3.1.4.3 where Sāyaṇa explains मायुं अकृत् by “मारणवेलायां मायुं दुष्पदेतुकश्च-मकृत्”)

"यापितृभ्य पूर्वेषुः करोति etc — 525 (T B 13102)
 यत्पुरुपस्य प्रयोजनं ग्रीतिस्तदर्थं धनस्याज्जनम्, 438
 "यत्पूर्णं तत्त्वनुप्याणां etc — 317 (T B 1684)
 यत्प्रयाजानुयाजा इत्यन्त etc 487,530 (T S 2615) Apast
 Sr xi 55

"यत होतु प्रातरनुयाकमनुवृत्त उपश्यगुयात्, 407,409
 "यत्रान्या ओवधयो म्लायन्ते etc 70
 यथाकृतं तथा साधु, 752

"यथा चमसमन्यांश्चमसांश्चमसिनो भक्षयन्ति etc — 353,355
 "यथा वै ग-स्योऽविदितो जनमवधुन्ते," 374
 यदद्वृतमभोजनं तद्, 104 (cf T S vi 641)
 "यदन्तवैदि मिनुयात् etc, — 392
 "यदन्यांश्चमसाऽनुन्तयन्ति etc, — 364
 "यदन्यांश्चमसाऽनुहोति etc' — 363
 "यदष्टातुराभृति गृह्णाति प्रयाजानुयाजेभ्य." (T B 3355),—462
 "यदद्वैरवैनं अद्वैपेनमेतदद्वरादधीति (Satap 2139 with यद्व.
 for अद्वा), 592

"यदाग्रेयाऽष्टाकपाल etc, — (T S 2633),—140,336,655,674.
 "यदाके चक्षुरेव भ्रातृदृपस्य चूंके" (T S 6115),—487.
 "यदा चद्वयि संतिष्ठेत्," 680—2 (cf Apast xi 211)
 "यदातिव्यायां वर्द्धिस्तदुपसदां etc ' 485
 "यदाऽनयनं तदामेधाद्वै", 415

"यदा वै पुरुषेन किञ्चनान्तर्भवति . अथ मेधयतमः," 415
 "यदाद्वयनीये ज्ञुहोति" (T B 11105), 661, with ज्ञुहोति, 690,
 762, and 766

"यदि कामयेत वर्द्धपर्जन्य," 417, 505 (cf T S vi 455)
 "यदि पशुरुपाकृतः पत्तायेत etc — 80

"यदि पुरादीक्षाणा एषु etc ' 198, 204
 "यदि विभीयादभिमोदेष्यतीति etc, — 702—3
 "यदि रथन्तरसामा सोम एवात् etc' (Apastamba Sranta
 xi 14 1)

“यदि राजन्यं वैश्यं चा याजयेत् etc.” 168 (*Apait. Sr.* xii. 24. 5), 350, 362, 381.

“यदि वर्षेत्तावत्येव ज्ञुह्यायदि न वर्षेत् श्वोभूते ज्ञुह्यात्”—503 (T. S. 2.4. 10. 1).

यदि सवाय दीक्षिता अथ 'साम्युक्तिष्ट्रेन्' (*Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta* xiii. 13.1 in *singular*), 711.

“यदि सोमं न विन्देत् पूर्तिका न मिष्पुण्यात्” (cf *Abast. Sr.* xiv. 24. 12), 383, 659, 669.

“यदि सोममपहरेयुरेकां गां दक्षिणां दद्यात्” (*Satap. iv. 5.10* 1.6.),—443.

यदुत्साहं जनयत्यवै गुणाय, 418.

“यदुपभृति गृहाति अनुयाजेभ्यस्तद् गृहाति” (*Satp. 1.3.2.9*), 462.

“यदेवादः पौर्णमासं हविः etc., 590, 593, 596.

“यद्यग्निष्ट्रेमो ज्ञुहोति, यद्युक्त्यः परिधिमनक्ति etc.”—383, 386.

“यद्यज्ञपा ज्ञुह्यात् etc.” 577 (T. B. 1.1.6 9).

“यद्यन्यस्य वृक्षस्य स्वरुपं कुर्यात् etc.” (cf *Apait. Sr.* vii. 3. 5)—467.

यद्यस्य कारणभूतं दृष्टं सिद्धे etc., 159.

यद्यस्योपकरोति तत्त्वस्य शेषभूतम्, 387.

“यद्येकं कपालं नश्येदेको मासः संवत्सरस्य अपेतः स्यात् etc.—511 (T. S. 2.6.3.6).

यदेनारम्भते तत्त्वदङ्गम्, 574.

“यद्विं हविर्धनं प्राचीप्रवत्तयेयुः etc.” (T. S. 3.1.3.1),—451.

यद्यहार चेतसशद्वाः, 70

यवाग्, rice—gruel,—307.

“यद्याज्ञ सर्वान्यस्य,” 495, 623 (T. S. 6.2.5.2).

“यद्योभयोः पक्ष्योदांपो न तमेकद्योयो भवति” (also in viii-3.14, taken from *Mahabhāṣya* vi.1.9),—735.

“यस्य खादिरः सुवो भवति etc.” (T. S. 3.5 7.1),—366, 487, 501.

“यस्य गृहान्दहति etc.” 437 (T. S. 2.2.2.5).

* 'if they should rise up without completing it'—i. e. if they should fail to carry it to completion.

यस्य च तु एं कारणं etc, '—8 (Quoted in *Njayamāñjari*, p 165 यस्य च etc)

"यस्य नवातेशतं स्तोत्रियाः" Ait B iii 41), 582

"यस्य पर्णमयी ज्ञुहूर्मवति etc, 366,487 (T S 35712)

"यस्य नजाता विषयु" etc 256

"यस्य व्रत्येऽहनि etc See "व्रत्येऽहनि"

"यस्य सर्वाणि द्वार्यापि नशेयुर्दुष्येयुर्वा etc, 674

"यस्य ह्विनिंशतं etc, —706—7 (T S 2551)

"यस्य हिरण्य नशेत् etc, 437 (T S 2325)

"यस्याविसे शस्यमाने सूर्यो नोदियात्", 122

"यस्यैवंरूपः स्व इति etc 368 (T S 3573)

"यस्याभयं ह्विरात्माच्छेत् etc, ' (T B 3718),—683, 690

"यस्योभावनुगतावग्नी अभिनिम्लोचेत् etc ' (अनुगती=नष्टी), 689

"यां वै कांचन ऋत्विज आपिपमारासते यजमानस्यैष सा," 426

"या वै कांचिद्द्वयुष्मा यजमानस्य देवतामन्तरित etc, ' (T S 3591)

"यां वै कांचिद्द्वयुष्मा मिष्टकामभिज्ञानोपात्," 575

यागोऽपूर्वस्य दाता, 389

याच्चाक्यणम् 'begging and buying, 771 2

याज्या, The *yajyās* (offering prayers) are the prayers which the Hotri pronounces when the offerings are poured into the fire. At the chief oblations the offering prayer is preceded by an *annavakya* or *puro nuvakyā* (invitational prayer) by which the gods are invited to come to the offering, and which ends with *om* ' (Eggeling's note, vol 1, p 135),—118—9,256,360

याज्यापनय, 360

"याज्यापां अधि वपद्वक्तोति etc, ' 360—1

यां जना प्रतिनन्दान्ति रात्री etc, 715

या ते अग्नेऽयुग्या तनुर्विष्टा etc " 134 [V S 1.8, Satap 344.
 30, "what most excellent iron clad body is thine, O Agni etc' (Eggeling)]

यादशोऽस्य वेशस्तादयो न टाताम्, 315
 "या पत्या क्रीता सती अथा वैश्वरति", 610
 "यावज्जीवमग्निहोनं ज्ञुहोति", 194 648, 651, 653, 716
 यावज्जीविक (Sutra 241), 'lifelong,—194
 "यावतोऽश्वन्प्रतिगृहीयात् etc, 331 (T S 2321)
 यावद्वचनं वाचनिकं भवत्येव 'it expresses just what is stated
 (and nothing more)', 361, 572, 590, 593
 यावांश श्रुतस्योऽसर्गं दोपस्तावानेवाश्रुतवल्पनायाम्, 491
 युगधरत्र, the strap of a yoke,—776
 "युवं हि स्य स्वर्पती" —297 8, 636 640 (R V XI 19 2)
 युवा युवासा." (R V III 8, 4),—422, 528
 यूपकर्मन्याय, 551
 "यूपस्य स्वर्यं करोति", 466 7, 528
 "ये ऋत्विजस्ते यजमानाः", 537
 "येन कर्मणा *इत्सेवृ etc ' (T S 346 2), 328
 येन च किया प्रणाद्यापि सिध्यति स तस्या कियाथा करो, 333
 "ये पुरोडाशिनस्ते उपविशन्ति etc," 199
 "ये मध्यमा ये स्याविष्टा etc,' 710 (T S 2552) See also
 under 'मध्यमाना etc'"
 ये मामधुक्तन्त etc (an example of a mantra consisting of a
 complaint—परिदेवन),—126
 "ये यजमानास्ते ऋत्विज ", 733—4 (See ये ऋत्विज etc)
 'योक्तेणपक्षो सम्भवति etc, ' 614 (T S 6135)
 योगसिद्धि, 'Simultaneous accomplishment (V W), 506—7
 योगसिद्धिन्याय, 505
 "येऽश्रुं गृहीत्वा सोमाय यजते etc " (T S 3342),—574
 'यो दीक्षितानां प्रमीयेत etc', 665

“यो दीक्षितो यदग्नीयोमीयं पशुमाज्जभते”, 373 378,392,408,428
 443,466,528 667 773 (T S 6 1 11 6)

यो देवदत्तस्य गौ स विष्णुमित्रस्य दर्तव्य इति देवदत्तादाच्छिद्य
 विष्णुमित्राय दीयते, 485

“यो वा अध्ययोः स्व वेद स्ववानेव भवति (He who knows the
 truth of the Adhvaryu priest indeed becomes wealthy —
 Kunte) (T S 3 1 2 3) 409 410

‘यो विद्यग्न इति नैऋत etc —317 (T S 2 6 3 4)

“यो वै प्रिवृद्धं यज्ञरुपापवने etc 583—८

“यो वै मास संवत्सर etc —739

“यो वै संवत्सरमुत्थमभृत्वाग्नि चिनुते etc (T S 5 5 1 6),
 see उरय,—521

“यो उमान्देष्टि यं च वर्यं द्विप्म,” 772

यो हि वृद्धन्यागान्कल वयति वहय-यसावेकम्, 154

यो हि द्विसितुमिष्टेत्स्यावसुपाय., 5

“यो होता सोऽध्यर्युः, 422

पौर्णिमा, etymological or literal (meaning),—87,95

रथकारन्याय, 630

रथन्तरसामन् (adj) ‘having the R as its Samu,—168

“रसायनं रायुर्दीर्घं प्राप्स्यन्ति, 736

राजन्, king (Sama) —711—12

राजनिजय वर्तमानं सैनिका अस्माकमिति व्यपदिशन्ति —‘ Soldiers
 speak of a victory achieved for the king as our victory,’
 428

राजन्यान्विवध्यवश्ववसिष्ठवैन्यगुनका (Cf A V n 29 3 4),—
 726

राजपुरपो राजानमाथितो राजकर्म करोति 161

राजसूय (Satap V 2 3),—516

“राजसूयेन स्वाराज्यप्राप्तो यजेत्, 516

रात्रिसत्रन्याय, 501

रायोवाजीय, N of १ Sāmīn,—491

राष्ट्रप्रतिपादनीयेष्टि, 507.

रुक्मप्रतिमोचन (T S 51 10 3), 566—7.

रुक्त, 'dry'—458—9 (See सूक्ष्म)

रेवत्य, the 3 verses R V 1 30 13—15, the first of which begins with रेवतीर्नं सधमाद, whence the tune as adapted to this Triplet is usually called रेवत (Eggeling, vol iii, p xxi),—162

लक्षणा हृदष्टकल्पनाया ज्यायसी, 273

लाकुकायन, N of an ācārya,—759

लिङ्ग, "Power residing in words (the power words possess to denote or point out some thing) is called *Linga*" (Thibaut's transn of *Artha Sangraha*, p 12) "*Linga*, sign, or 'the sense of the words' as leading to an inference" (Cowell's transn *Sandhya Sutra*, p 23, footnote),—256, 284, 285

"लोकं पृण etc" (T S 42 4 4),—575.

लोकं पृणा (इष्टका), N of a brick laid in building the altar, with the mantra लोकं पृणा (as above),—575

"लोहितं निरस्यति etc",—453

"लोहितोप्पीपा लोहितवसनाकृत्विज प्रचरन्ति", 416 (*Apast Srauta* वा 16 6)

लौकिकानि वचनान्युपपद्मार्थान्यनुपपद्मानि च हृश्यन्ते, etc (see *Mahābhāya*, vol i, p 38),—13 For वक्तारो भवन्ति see भवन्ति वक्तारो ।

"र्याज्ञारीदपदधाति" (T S 5 7 3 1), 380, 573—5

"वज्रो वै यूप", 392

"वज्रो वै स्फ्य. etc" T.B 3 2 10 1), 424

"वत्सं चोपावस्तुजति etc",—420 (T S 1 6 9 3 4)

"वत्सजानुं पगुमामस्य वेदं कुर्यात्", 436 *Kātyayana Srauta* 1 66—68 Compare वत्सद्वंपगुमामस्य etc of *Apast Srauta* 1 6 5 वत्सजानु= 'in the form of a calf's knees')

"वत्समालभेत् etc , (T S 2148),—184

"वत्सेन व्रतमुपयन्ति", 694

वध्रचश्व, having castrated horse The *N* of an ācārya (A. V.

II 29 34 , Āpast Śr. xxiv 66 *Vedic Index*), 726

"वपया प्रातः सवने चरन्ति etc , 376, 428

वयो वचन (?), 777—8

वरकाः, a kind of rice, 662

"वरुणगृहीतं वा पतयज्ञस्य यहयीजम् etc ", 480

वरुण प्रधास, 118 one of the 3 seasonal sacrifices offered

in Asādha. Some details connected with the अवभूय (expiatory bath) are transferred to it from Agnistoma. [See note at head of Satap II 5 1, and also II 5 2. Also

Sabara 7 3 12 Garbe (in Index to Āpast Śrauta) calls it "the Second Parvan of the Caturmāsyā Sacrifices"]

वरुणो वा एत गृहीति योऽश्वं प्रतिगृहीति" (T S 2312 1),—329

"वरुणो वा पतमधे प्रत्यगृहीत्" 499

वचीन्याय, 425

"वचोदा अग्ने शसि वचो मे देहि", 418 (T S 1554)

"वर्षासु रथकार आदयीत", 630

वशा, 'a barren cow'—but combined with अजा (as अजावशा in T S 3 4 3 2) it apparently means a *barren goat*, 119, 121

"वपद्वक्तुः प्रथमभक्त्", 355, 357

"वसन्तमृतूनां प्रीणामि" (T S 1623), 540

"वसन्ताय कपिञ्जलानालभते," 443 (V S xxii 20, and Satap. xiii 5 1 13, and note. See too Sabara vi 1 38).

"वसन्ते ग्राहणमुपनयीत etc,"—625

"वसन्ते ग्राहणोऽग्नीनादधीत etc,"— (T B 1126),—175, 370, 438, 619, 622, 626 639

"वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यज्ञेत्", 298, 651

वाक्य, 'syntactical connection—one of the six means of ascertaining what is subsidiary to what (Jha),—284-5

वाक्यमेद, 'Split of the Sentence,'—133 [See Note on p 177 of voli, of Thibaut's Transn of Vedāntabhāṣya]

"वार्त्तै देवैः योऽपाकामद्यज्ञात्यातिष्ठमाना" (T S 6 1 4 1),—478

"वास्त्वै हविष्कृद्" (Satap 1 1 4 11 and note), 250

वाजपेय, "N of one of the 7 forms of Soma Sacrifice (offered by kings or Brāhmaṇas aspiring to the highest position, and preceding the Rājasuya and Brihaspati Sava)". *MIW*. It is dealt with in Satap v 1 1 etc. See, too, Eggeling's preface to vol iii, pp vi and xxiii. For this sacrifice नीवार is prescribed instead of द्वीतीहि [Jai ix 2 40],—91,153,410, 416,419,456,507,772 [See *Vedic Index*]

"वाजपेयेन स्वारात्यकामो यजेत्," 456

"वाजपेयेनेष्टा वृहस्पतिसवेन यजेत्," 507,514

"वाजस्य मा प्रसवेत् etc," 419 (T S 1 1 13 1)

वाजिन 'whey,' from which the curds (आमिक्ता) have been separated,—157,448,449,450 [See *Vedic Index*]

वाजिनन्याय, 449

"वाजिभ्यो वाजिनम्" ['The whey (vājina) is offered to the (divine) coursers, i e the regions or quarters' (Eggeling's note on ix 5 1 57 See too, 2 4 4 22, and *Vedic Index*],—157,449

II—STUDIES IN HINDU LAW.

BY GANGA NATH JHA

Chapter III

Judicial Procedure

In this Chapter we shall reproduce the words of Nārada, whose work among the *Sāṃhitā* contains the fullest and most comprehensive description of the subject, and as such may be regarded as the oldest complete account. Nārada's *Sāṃhitā* has been translated by Jolly, but from a minor version of the text (as explained by himself in his edition of Nārada's Text, Bib. Indica). But for our present purposes, as affording a glimpse of the subject is dealt with by an old *śāṃhitā* writer, this minor version is sufficient. We shall however, supplement it with explanations from some of the older *Dīgests*, and also with certain verses which are quoted by these as Nārada's. The most important among these verses are those dealing with the procedure to be adopted regarding the filing of the Plaintiff, the Answer and so forth. In the next Chapter an attempt shall be made to codify the Procedure as deduced from the various *Sāṃhitās*, with explanations from the more important *Dīgests*.

*I. *Initiatory**

1. Virtue having become extinct among men, judicial procedure has been established and the king having the privilege of inflicting punishment, has been constituted judge of law suits.

2. Written proof and witnesses are the two expedients to be resorted to for ascertaining disputed facts in a cause between litigants.

3 Law suits are of two kinds attended by wager, or not attended by wager attended by wager are those where it is promised in a written declaration to discharge a certain sum over and above the fine in case of defeat

4 In a law suit attended by wager the loser has to pay the wager made by himself and a fine to the king

5 But the declaration is pronounced to be the essence of a judicial proceeding if he gets the worst of it, the claimant loses his cause if he gets the better of it, he wins it

6 Family councils (*kula*) companies (of artisans), *shreni*, assemblies (of cohabitants), *gana*, an appointed judge (*adhibhita*), and the king himself are resorts for the trial of law suits and among these, the last in order is superior to the preceding

Medhatithi (Manu 8.2) explains this verse, where 'shreni' is described as 'organisation of persons belonging to the same trade, trade guilds, —'ga'na', 'tribes, as 'companies of builders and other artisans' he distinguishes 'shreni' from 'gana' as consisting in the fact that while the former may consist of artisans working singly, the latter consists of such artisans only as work together He quotes another explanation, whereby 'kul' stands for 'neutral' or 'disinterested person'

7 The Law, the issue of the case the conduct of the parties and an edict from the king these are the four feet of a judicial proceeding, each following is weightier than the preceding

This is quoted by the *Sparshaka* (P 597)

8 Law is based upon truth the issue of the case depends upon the deposition of the witnesses, the conduct of the parties becomes manifest at the trial, the king's Edict depends upon the king's pleasure

As rendered above by Jolly, the verse does not give good sense It is read and explained by the *Aparsha* (P 597)

10 It is said to regard four, because the perpetrator of the deed, the witnesses, the judges, and the king are equally concerned by it (Ch u 18)

11 Because it promotes justice, gain glory, renown, therefore it is said to produce four results

12 The eight constituent parts of a judicial proceeding are the king, his officer, the assessors, the law-book, the accountant, and scribe gold and fire for ordeals, and water for refreshment

13 Recovery of a Debt Deposits, Concerns among Partners, Abstraction of Gift, Breach of promised Obedience,

14 Non payment of Wages, Sale without Owner-ship, Non-delivery of a commodity sold, Rescission of Purchase,

15 Breach of Order, Contests about Boundaries, the Duties of Man and Wife, the Law of Inheritance, Violence,

16 Abuse and Assault, Gambling, and Miscellaneous Disputes, these are the eighteen heads of dispute

17. Of these again there are one hundred and eight subdivisions, therefore a judicial proceeding is said to have a hundred ramifications, owing to the diversity of men's claims

This verse is quoted in the Apasthaka (P 597).

18. Because it is instituted from one of these three causes love, anger, and cupidity, therefore it is said to have three causes, these are the three motives for going to law.

19. It is said to have two kinds of claims, because they rest either on suspicion or on facts, on suspicion, if the defendant has frequented bad society, on facts, if the stolen goods are produced

20. Because it concerns two parties, it is said to have two sides, of these the charge is called claim, the rejoinder answer.

21. Because both true and false statements are made in course of a judicial proceeding, it is said to have two

courses, a true statement is one agreeing with the facts, a false one is a wrong one

22 A dutiful king shall check falsehood where it has not been checked by others and strive after truth, since it is justice that happiness springs from

23 Therefore a king having seated himself on the throne of judgment, should discard interested motives, and deal even handed justice to all his subjects, as if he were Vaivasvata himself

24 He should carefully examine all claims, one after the other, according to the respective rank of the claimants, considering what would be useful or injurious, and just or unjust

25 Taking the law code for his guide, and abiding by the opinion pronounced by the chief judge

This is quoted by the Apararka (P 600) as laying down the necessity of appointing a Judge and in support of the view that if a case is being tried by the King himself, the Judge should also be there to advise him

26 Firstly, the litigants have to appear before the court, secondly the drift of their dispute has to be expounded then comes the examination and lastly the sentence, thus the trial of a law suit consists of four parts

27 The trial should be conducted discreetly and skillfully, and without neglecting either sacred or profane rules of conduct

The Apararka (P 600) quotes this in support of the view that all kinds of laws have to be considered and reconciled.

28 Where religious and secular rules are at variance the secular rules have to be put aside and the religious precepts to be followed

*Cf. Vyavasikya—Asti lokastriti balaved dharmastra stri
sthithi*

29. The law ordains to take logic for one's guide, when the sacred law cannot be applied, for the evidence in a law-suit is more decisive than the law, and overrules the law.

30. Let the judge proceed slowly in all trials relating to debt and so on, on account of the intricacy of law-cases and the insufficiency of memory.

31. If the defendant does not speak, he must be confined and punished according to law, and if he does not refute the statement of his adversary, he has to pay the money, which he is sued for.

32. A charge relating to a cow, land, gold, a woman, theft, the two kinds of insult, and violence, has to be answered immediately. [Cf. *Mitakshara*, P. 280]

33. One may wait for one day, for five, or three days, or three half-months, or seven days, if the claim relates to a debt or the like.

34. He who tries to enforce a claim, without giving notice to the king previously, shall receive a severe punishment, and his claim shall be rejected.

35. A claimant may arrest his adversary until the arrival of the summons, if the latter tries to evade the claim he is about to prefer, or does not refute his charge.

The *Aparārka* (P. 607) quotes this verse and explains 'summons' as the 'summons-bearer'.

36. Arrest is four-fold local, temporary, inhibition from travelling, and from pursuing one's occupation; and the person under arrest is not allowed to break it.

The *Aparārka* (P. 607) quotes this verse, and adds the following explanation. The arrest is 'local' when the culprit is prevented from entering certain places, it is 'temporary' when food is denied to him for a certain time,—'occupation', such as cultivating of land and so forth.

37. No culpability attaches to him who breaks an arrest put upon him while crossing a river or while passing a forest,

in an inhospitable country or, generally speaking in perilous circumstances

38 One who having been arrested at a proper time, breaks his arrest, is to be fined and one arresting improperly is liable to penalty

39 One desirous of celebrating his nuptials afflicted with an illness about to perform a sacrifice distressed sued by an other party, employed in the king's service

40 Cowherds while tending their cattle husbandmen in the act of cultivation artisans engaged in their trades soldiers engaged in warfare,

41 A minor a messenger one about to give alms or fulfilling a vow, and one surrounded by difficulties must not be arrested by the adversary nor summoned by the king

These three verses are quoted in the *Spira ta* (P 607)

42 A person arraigned not having refuted the adversary's charge cannot bring forward an alibi nor is it allowed to injure one accused by another party by trying to intimidate him

43 No one must alter the charge he has brought before the judge he who rests his claim on different grounds from those first adduced by him loses his cause (Cf. *Uma*, P 272)

44 Nor must one bring forward a false claim for it is a sin unjustly to accuse a man the punishment inflicted in such lawsuits falls upon the claimant

45 A man may delay his answer as long as the law permits it if he does not speak in the judicial assembly, or alters his former statements it shows that he is in the wrong

46 He who does not obey the summons or having appeared before the court does not rest at the close is to be fined by the king in having lost his cause

47 After the sentence has been passed, evidence is to no purpose, unless it consist in the deposition of witnesses, or in documents, referred to in a former stage of the trial

(This is quoted in the Aparāka P 630)

48 As the powers of rain are lavished upon ripe grain, so evidence is no longer useful if once the decision has been passed

49 Even false statements are examined if made in proper time, but what is left unsaid through inadvertency has no effect even though it be true

50 He who thinks a law case to have been wrongly decided and judged, may have it tried anew, if he pays the double amount of the fine inflicted

51 If an unjust sentence has been passed, the judges have to pay the fine for nobody certainly commits an offence without being liable to punishment for it

52 Whether it be through passion, ignorance, or avarice, that a judge pronounces an unfair opinion, he must be considered as no assessor of the court, and the king should severely punish that sinful man

53 But a king especially, who is careful to discharge his duty, must endeavour to distinguish right from wrong, because human minds are subtle

54 There are men who bear false testimony from avarice, and there are other wicked men who forge written documents

55 Therefore both documents and witnesses have to be carefully examined by the king, the former by inquiring into the condition of the writing, the latter by inquiring into the nature of their deposition

56. There are skilful men who imitate the hand writing of others, therefore similarity of handwriting affords no conclusive proof

57 Liars may have the bearing of veracious men, and veracious men look like liars Men in general appear in various shapes, thus caution is required

58 Hence it is right to examine a fact strictly, even though it occurred in the inquirer's own sight He who ascertains facts by rigid investigation, does not deviate from justice

Additional verses (not translated by Jolly) quoted and explained in the Apararka -

1 'No law suit shall be admitted—which is filed by one against several persons, or which is filed against women or slaves, or that between teacher and his pupil, or between father and son, or between husband and wife, or between master and servant,—and it adds the following explanations - One man cannot sue several persons simultaneously, if he has claims against several persons, he should file them separately,—if one has claims against women he shall sue their guardians but milkmaids and women selling wine may be sued by themselves —similarly for claims against slaves, their masters have to be sued —If the pupil has been chastised by the Teacher in accordance with law, it is not open to the pupil to prefer against him a charge of assault Similarly in the case of father and son (P 610)

2 'Before the Defendant has filed his answer, the Plaintiff shall set forth in writing all that he desires to state' (P 611)

3 'That man should be permitted to make his statement first whose suffering may be greatest, or whose suit may be most important,—not necessarily one who has filed his suit first (P 611)

4 'When the Plaintiff has stated his claim, the Defendant should state his answer traversing the claim, which

should be firm, definite, consistent, set forth in clear language,—i.e in words which do not stand in need of amplifications or explanations

5 'This answer may be in the form of (1) Denial ('The claim is untrue—I know nothing of this claim—I was not present at the time of the transaction—I was not even born at the time)—or (2) Admission (of the truthfulness of the claim),—or (3) Confutation—admitting the claim but *confuting* it (as already paid)—or (4) Citation of a Previous Decision (Pp 612 613)

6 'In criminal cases, the person who committed the offence first should be punished more heavily, where the two parties assaulted each other simultaneously, the punishment should be equal' (P 617)

7 'A party is *non suited* in four ways (1) By making an answer which does not touch the claim, (2) by vitiating the proceedings, (3) by not answering the summons, (4) by not making an answer, and (5) by absconding after being summoned'. (P 621)

[What is meant by 'vitiating the proceedings' is explained in the following verse —]

8 'Even on the clear presentation of facts, if he does not accept it,—after having denied a fact, if he reverts to it,—after having declared that he has witnesses in support of his contention, if he fails to name them,—the party should be declared *non suited*' (PP 621-622)

9 'If the parties should come to a mutual understanding, after the suit has been filed, and the Plaintiff and the Answer duly presented,—they should be fined double the amount of the claim' (P 622)

10 'In a case where several claims have been filed against a man, and he has denied all of them,—if only a part of the claim is substantiated, the man should be made to make good all the claims'. (P. 625)

II

On Courts of Justice

1 One who is not appointed to be a member of the court must on no account speak at the trial of a law-suit, but by him, who has been appointed, an impartial opinion ought to be given

2 Whether appointed or not appointed, one who is conversant with the law has a right to speak, for he whose conduct is regulated by the law, delivers a speech inspired by the deity

This verse is quoted by the Aparärka (P. 604).

3 For the trial of all law suits persons familiar with many branches of science should be appointed, no prudent man would entrust this task to a single person, though a virtuous one

4 Whatever judgment ten men versed in the Veda and jurisprudence, or three men familiar with the Veda, pass upon the case in hand, is right and valid sentence

5 The king alone, being the supreme ruler, is entitled to decide knotty law cases, therefore private man should not pass a sentence alone, his opinion would leave room for doubt

6 The king should appoint, as members of the court, honest men of tried integrity, who are able to support the burden of the administration of justice like bulls bearing heavy load

7 The assessors of the king's courts of judicature should be men skilled in matters of law, sprung from good families, veracious, and impartial towards friend and foe

8. Either the court must not be entered, or law and truth must be openly declared but that man is a criminal who either says nothing, or speaks falsely

9. But judges who, after having repaired to the court, sit there in silent meditation, and do not deliver a candid opinion, as they ought are all guilty of a deliberate falsehood

10. One quarter of the iniquity committed falls upon the party in a cause, one quarter on his witnesses, one quarter upon all the assessors of the court, and one quarter on the king

11. Therefore should a judge, when he has entered the court, divest himself from both love and hatred, and deliver a fair opinion, in order that he may not go to hell

12. The king is blameless, the judges are absolved from iniquity, the sin falls upon the sinner's head alone, when those who deserve punishment receive it

13. When all the members of a judicial assembly opine, "this is right," the court is relieved from the dart of iniquity, but the dart remains in the wound, if they do not say so

14. That is not a judicial assembly where the elders are missing, nor are they elders who do not pronounce a just opinion, nor is that a just opinion which is against equity, nor is that equitable which is contaminated with fraud

III

On Evidence by writing

1. Written proof, witnesses, and possession, these are the three kinds of evidence, on which the right of property rests, and by means of which a creditor may recover his loan

2. A document remains always evidence, witnesses as long as they live, and possession becomes evidence after a lapse of time thus it is propounded in the law-books

3 What a man is not possessed of, that is not his own, even though there be written proof, and even though witnesses he living, this is especially the case with immovables

4 If a man foolishly suffers his property to be enjoyed by strangers, it will become those strangers' own through the effect of possession, although the proprietor is known to be alive

5 Whatever property a proprietor sees with his own eyes being enjoyed by strangers, without for ten years asserting his rights, may not be recovered by him

6 Because he has been indulgent and looking on without asserting his rights, therefore he will be nonsuited, if (cf C13) he prefers a claim after the expiration of the above mentioned period

7 If he is neither an idiot nor a mere child, and if the chattel is being enjoyed by a stranger while he is near, his property in it is extinct by law, and the adverse possessor shall keep it

8 Pledges, boundaries, the property of children, common deposits sealed deposits, women and goods belonging to the king or learned Brahmins are not lost to the owner through their being possessed by a stranger

9 Even pledges etc , are lost, if strangers have enjoyed them for twenty years before the owner's eyes, the property of women and of kings is excepted from this rule

10 The property of women and of kings can never be lost, even though it be enjoyed for hundreds of years by strangers who have no title to it

11 Where possession exists, but not title whatever exists, there a title, but not possession alone, can confer proprietary rights

12 A title having been substantiated, the possession becomes valid if it remains invalid without a proved title

13 He who simply declares himself possessed of a commodity without having a title to it is to be considered as a thief, in consequence of his pleading such illegitimate possession

14 He who enjoys without a title for ever so many years, the king of the land should inflict on that sinner the punishment of a thief

15 What a man possesses without a title, he must not alienate, being only the possessor of it, but after the death of the possessor such possessions devolve upon his family

16 In cases falling within the memory of man, possession of land with a title makes evidence. In cases extending beyond the memory of man, the hereditary succession of three ancestors is admitted as evidence, though the title be not produced

17 If a man is accused by him whom he has injured by taking possession of his property, he cannot escape defeat, only what has formerly been possessed by his fathers, and inherited by him in order, is his legitimate property

18 When possession has been held, even unlawfully, by three ancestors, including the father of the present occupant, that cannot be taken away from him, as having gone in order through three lives [This is quoted by Medhātithi on Manu 8 148],

19 Common deposits (*anvahita*), stolen goods (*hita*), unspecified deposits (*nyaya*), deposits for whose delivery a certain period has been fixed (?) (*balavattabdhay uttam*), and what is being possessed in secret ('*apratyaksham jad bhuktam*'), are six things possessed without a title

[Jolly's rendering is defective. Medhātithi (on Manu

8 148) has explained this verse as follows 'anishtita' is that deposit which is fraudulent what is actually deposited being different from what has been previously shown — 'hrtam' is what is stolen by breaking open a wall etc, while 'brilavastabha' is what is robed by open violence 'jathita' is what is obtained by begging 'nyasta' and 'apratyaksham' are as rendered by Jolly]

20 If a litigant dies while a law suit about possessions of his is pending the son has to prove his title, the fact of his possession being insufficient to decide the suit

21 What has been in the hands of three ancestors for a very long time though they had no title cannot be lost, having gone in order through three lives

22 After the death of a creditor, even witnesses are no longer of avail, except if a statement made by the creditor himself on his death bed has been preserved

23 For after the death of an adversary the deposition of his witnesses loses its force an attested document only being capable of influencing the sentence in this case

24 But if a man not unsound in mind has preferred a legitimate claim, a witness may give evidence even after the claimant's death, in case it be in a matter touching the six cases of deposit and the rest

25 In all business transactions the latest act shall prevail but in the case of a gift a pledge, or a purchase, the prior act has the greater force

26 A contract of delivery and receipt may be made, with a view to guns by the lender on the principal sum while remaining with the debtor it is called a loan on interest, and money lenders acquire their substance by it

27 What is given by force, what is by force enjoyed,

by force caused to be written and all other things done by force, Manu has pronounced void

28 If the creditor's claim ceases to be admissible through length of time, he may still substantiate it by means of a document if his tribe acknowledge his claim, or if he has a pledge or can prove occupancy of the land in question

29 Written proof is declared to be of two sorts, the first, in the handwriting of the party himself the second, in that of another person the former being valid without subscribing witnesses the latter requiring to be attested the validity of both depends on the usage established in the country

30 That instrument which is not adverse to peculiar local usages which declares the nature of the pledge made, and which is consistent in import and language, is termed proof

31 That instrument is not termed proof, which is executed by a person intoxicated by one under duress, by a female, by a child and that which is effected by force, by intimidation, and by fraud

32 A written contract loses its validity in that case also, if the witnesses, creditor, debtor, and writer be dead, unless its validity be insured by means of a pledge

33 If anything has been received or a public announcement been made, a contract retains its validity even after the death of the witnesses

34 Pledges are declared to be of two sorts, movable and immovable both are valid when there is actual enjoyment, and not otherwise

35 An instrument which has been produced in due season, proclaimed in public, and repeatedly called into

remembrance, remains always evidence even after the death of the witnesses

36 An instrument, whose purport nobody has heard of, which has remained unknown, or become the object of a law suit, has no validity, not even while the witnesses are living

37 In the case of an instrument being deposited in another country, or burnt, or badly written, or stolen, time must be allowed, if it be in existence, if it be so in existence, the evidence of those who have seen it must be resorted to

38 If there exist doubts about a document, whether it be genuine or not, its authenticity must be proved by the handwriting of the party himself, by evidence of the contract, which it records, by peculiar marks and by reasonable inference

39 If a document bears the name of a stranger and is designed for a different purpose, its authenticity has to be established with especial care by examining the connexion and former dealings of the two parties

40 A document written by the party himself must be authenticated by examining the writing, and an attested document be inauthenticated by examining the witnesses. Witnesses are overruled by documents, not documents by witnesses

41 If a document is split in two or torn, or stolen, or effaced, or destroyed, or badly written, another document must be executed. This is the rule regarding documents

IV

On Evidence by Witnesses and by Ordeal

1 In doubtful cases, when there are two conflicting parties, the facts have to be ascertained by the deposition of witnesses, as to what was seen, heard or understood by them

2 He has to be considered as a witness who has witnessed a deed with his ears or eyes, with his ears if the perpetrator of the deed has been speaking, with his eyes, if he has been committing an action

3 Eleven descriptions of witnesses are recognised in law by the learned five of which are made and the remaining six are not made

4 A witness by record, by memory, by accident, by secrecy, and by corroboration these are the five classes of made witnesses

5 But the witnesses not made have been declared by the wise to be six fold of which three are not appointed

6 The fellow villagers a judge, a kindred, one authorized to manage the affairs of the parties, one deputed by the claimant

7 In family disputes, persons of the same family shall be witnesses A smaller number of witnesses than three is objectionable and they should be blameless, decent and intelligent persons

8 They may be either Brahmans, or Vaishyas or Kshatriyas or else unimpeachable Shudras Each of these shall be witness for persons of his own order, or for any order, if there are no witnesses of the same order

9 Among companies of artisans men who are artisans shall be witnesses and men of one tribe among those of the same, foresters among those living outside and women among women

10 And if in any association etc, any one falls out with his associates, he shall not bear testimony with regard to them for they are all his enemies

11 The incompetent witnesses too have in the law books been declared by the learned to be of five sorts, by reason of interdict, of delinquency, of contradiction, of voluntary deposition and of intervening decease

12 Learned Brahmins, etc, by interdict, thieves, etc if their delinquency has become public, by reason of contradiction, i.e if there is no agreement between the witnesses in a law suit

13 Voluntary deposition is when a man comes and offers his evidence without having been asked to do so Incompetent by intervening decease are all witnesses after the death of the claimant, except those instructed by him on the point of death

14 Learned Brahmins, ascetics, superannuated persons and religious devotees, are those incapacitated by interdict there is no other reason given for it

15 Thieves, public offenders, violent persons, gamblers, murderers, are incompetent from delinquency there is no truth in them

16 If the statements of witnesses, who have been summoned by the king for the decision of an action, do not agree, they are rendered incompetent by contradiction

17 He who, without having been appointed, comes and offers his evidence, is termed a spy in the law books he is not worthy to bear testimony

18 How can any person bear testimony, if the claimant is no longer in existence, whose claim should have been heard ? Such a person is an incompetent witness by reason of intervening decease

19 If both parties in a dispute have witnesses, the witnesses of that party shall be heard which has brought forward the claim

(This is quoted by the *Apararka* P 624)

20 In such cases only, where the claimant is worsted in the trial, the witnesses of the defendant have to be examined

(This is quoted in the *Apararka* P. 624)

21 For the defendant answers word for word to the charge brought forward by his adversary and indicating every error in the assertions of the latter, he points out the true state of the case

22 No one should secretly confer with a witness summoned by his adversary neither should he cause him to differ with another a person resorting to such practices loses his suit

23 If a witness dies or goes abroad after having received the summons those who have heard his deposition may give evidence for a second hind statement is evidence also

24 Even after a great lapse of time a written document does not lose its validity if a man can write, he should commit it to writing himself if he cannot write himself he should not cause it to be written by others

25 The deposition of witness by record remains valid up to the eighth year, that of a witness come by accident remains valid up to the fifth year

26 The deposition of a secret witness remains valid up to the third year the deposition of a witness by corroborator is declared to lose its validity after one year

27 Or no definite period is adhered to in judging the validity of a deposition for those learned in law have said that testimony depends upon memory

28 He whose intellect, memory, or hearing, has never been deranged may give valid evidence even after a very considerable lapse of time

29 But six different kinds of law cases have been indicated by the wise in which witnesses are not concerned evident signs take in these cases the place of the deposition of witnesses

30 One taken with a firebrand in his hand is manifestly an incendiary one taken with a weapon in his hand is

known to be a murderer, if a man and another man's wife are seen to play with one another's hair, the man must be an adulterer

31. One who goes about with a hatchet in his hand, is a destroyer of bridges, one who is carrying an axe, is a destroyer of trees

32 One covered with hideous marks is a public offender In ill such cases witnesses are superfluous, only in the last mentioned case of violence close scrutiny is required

33 Some one might make marks upon his person on purpose to injure an enemy Therefore persons of acute perception should investigate such cases

34 One interested in the subject matter, a friend, a servant, an enemy, one perjured, a sick or infamous person, cannot be made a witness

35 The king cannot be made a witness, nor mean artificers, nor public dancers and singers nor a slave, nor a cheat, nor one exhausted nor a decrepit old man, nor a woman, nor a child, nor a potter

36 Nor can the following persons be made witnesses one intoxicat¹ a madman, a negligent or distressed person, one extremely grieved, a gamester, a village priest, one who is gone out upon a long pilgrimage, one engaged in transmaritime commerce, an ascetic, a scholar,

37 One deformed, a single person, a learned Brahman, a man of a vile class, an eunuch, a public dancer or singer, an atheist, an apostate, one who has deserted his wife or his holy fire, one who makes illicit offerings,

38 One who eats from the same dish as the defendant in a law suit a servant, a member of the highest class, kinsmen, one formerly perjured a dancer, one who lives by selling poison (?), a snake catcher,

39 A poisoner, an incendiary, a butcher, the son of a Shudra, one excluded from society, one oppressed by

fatigue, a public offender, one exhausted, one who has suffered his fire to go out.

40 One who associates with people of wicked habits, an idiot, a seller of oil or roots, one who is possessed by a demon, an enemy of the king, weather prophets, and astrologers

41 A juggler, an avaricious or cruel person, enemies of a company of merchants, or an association of kinsmen, an irreligious man, one self sold one who has a limb too little, a Bhagavritti

42 One who has bad nails or black teeth, a leper, one who betrays his friends, an idiot, a seller of spirits, a murderer, a leather manufacturer, a lame man, an outcast, a forger,

43 An impostor, one who has eaten too much, a robber, a follower of the king.

44 One who sells men, animals, meat, bones, honey, milk, water, or butter, a Brahman, and a member of a twice born class who is guilty of usury,

45 A man sprung from a good family, who neglects the duties of his class, a panegyrist, one who serves low people, one who quarrels with his father, and a mischief maker.

46 Nor a child, a woman one man alone, an evildoer, relatives, and enemies, because they would bear false testimony

47. A child would speak falsely from ignorance, a woman from levity, an evildoer from habitual depravity, relatives from affection, enemies from desire of revenge

48 By consent of both litigants even a single person may be a witness, and must be examined before the court

49 One who is oppressed by the conscience of his

separately, all of them familiar with the rules of duty and acquainted with the circumstances of the case

59 Let him cause a priest to swear by his veracity, a Ksattriya by his horse or elephant and his weapons, a Vaishya by his kine grain or gold a Shudra by all possible crimes

60 By ancient holy texts which extol the pre-eminence of truth and denounce falsehood, let him inspire them with deep awe

61 If there be contradictory evidence the plurality of witnesses decides the case if the number of witnesses on both sides in a law case is found to be equal, the defendant must be absolved

62 The deposition of the witnesses loses its validity in this case on account of the subtlety of evidence by witnesses But if a litigant is, by the act of fate abandoned by his witnesses in a law suit

63 The wise will not have him absolved even through

guilty looks as if he was ill, is constantly shifting his position, and runs after every man,

50 Who suddenly coughs without reason, and draws repeated sighs, who scratches as if writing with his feet and who shakes his arm and clothes,

51 Whose countenance changes colour, whose fore head sweats, and whose lips become dry, who looks above and about him

52 Who talks a great deal without restraint like a man in haste, and without being asked such a person is manifestly a false witness, and should receive severe punishment

53 The above mentioned persons slaves, impostors, and the like, shall nevertheless be admitted to bear testimony, with due consideration of the weight of the case in hand

54 In all cases of violence, theft, adultery, and both kinds of insult the witnesses should not be scrutinised

55 He who does not give his evidence, although he has related what he knows to others, deserves extreme punishment for he is worse than a false witness

56 If a witness speaks falsely through covetousness, he shall be fined a thousand pūnas, if through distraction of mind, two hundred and fifty, or the lowest imercement, if through terror, the middling imercement, if through friend ship, four times the lowest,

57 If through lust, ten times the lowest imercement, if through wrath, three times the next or middlemost, if through ignorance, two hundred complete if through inattention, a hundred only

58 The judge, having summoned the witnesses, and bound them down firmly by an oath, shall examine them

separately, all of them familiar with the rules of duty and acquainted with the circumstances of the case.

59. Let him cause a priest to swear by his veracity, a Ksattriya by his horse or elephant and his weapons, a Vaishya by his kine, grain, or gold, a Shudra by all possible crimes.

60. By ancient holy texts, which extol the pre-eminence of truth and denounce falsehood, let him inspire them with deep awe

61. If there be contradictory evidence, the plurality of witnesses decides the case, if the number of witnesses on both sides in a law-case is found to be equal, the defendant must be absolved.

62. The deposition of the witnesses loses its validity in this case on account of the subtlety of evidence by witnesses. But if a litigant is, by the act of fate, abandoned by his witnesses in a law-suit,

63. The wise will not have him absolved even through an ordeal. If a witness gives unmeaning evidence, the deposition of the appointed witnesses being full of meaning, his testimony is as good as ungiven.

64. If the witnesses were to disagree with one another as to place, time, age, matter, usages, tribe, or class,

65. Such depositions, too, are worthless. If the witnesses name too low or too high a sum,

66. This too must be known to make no evidence. This is the rule of witnesses.

67. If, owing to the negligence of the creditor, both a written contract and witnesses are missing, and the defendant denies his obligation, three kinds of measures may be had recourse to:

68. Repeated admonitions, subtle ratiocination, and,

thirdly, an oath . these are the measures which a judge should successively resort to.

69. He who does not refute his adversary's statements, though he has been called upon to do so repeatedly, three or four or five times, will consequently be bound to pay the debt.

70. If the defendant has resisted such an admonition, he shall aggress him by subtle' ratiocination founded upon place, time, and matter, upon the connexions of the party, circumstantial evidence, the nature of the case, and so forth.

71. If reasonable inference also leads to no result, let him cause the defendant to undergo one of the ordeals, by fire, water, proof of virtue, and so forth, according to the time of the year and to the strength of the defendant.

72. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water soon forces not up, or who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held veracious in his testimony on oath.

He is freed from the charge; otherwise he is guilty.

73. Let ordeals be administered if an offence has been committed in a solitary forest, at night, in the interior of a house, and in cases of violence, and of denial of a deposit.

74. The same rule holds good in regard to women accused of bad morals, in cases of theft and robbery, and in all cases of denial of an obligation

III.—THEISM IN ANCIENT INDIA

By GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ

Part II

The Non theistic Systems

I have given in the foregoing pages a bare outline of the different theories relating to the origin of things. I now propose to deal more particularly with the principal notions of some of the recognized schools of non theistical philosophy which bear, directly or in a remote way, on the problem of Theism. An exhaustive treatment of the subject is *prima facie* impossible within the compass of these pages, but I have nevertheless endeavoured not to exclude from my scope or dismiss unexamined any of the more important doctrines.

A The Charvaka view

First and foremost among the philosophies which deny the existence of a Personal God stands the material school of the Charvakas. Though this school of thought owing to its gross sensationalism had never succeeded in striking its roots deep into the soil of the country it still possessed an interest, almost unique in character partly theoretical—in the eyes of controversialists, and partly even practical, though only to a very limited number. Its doctrines if doctrines they could it all be called, were most mercilessly exposed by all the other systems, orthodox as well as heterodox and if they have survived to day they have done so simply as so many ill formulated theses without any pretension to speculative value.

The founder: Tradition ascribes to Brihaspati the foundation of the philosophy of materialism*. An adherent of this school of thought is therefore usually known as Bārhaspatya. Cf. Vivaraṇa Praimēya Saṅgraha, pp. 210—18; Saṃadarśana Saṅgraha (Poona Ed.), p. 4. That Brihaspati was not a mythical personage is evideant from the Sūtras extant in quotation under his name:

Cf. (1) Bhāskara Bhāṣya on the Vedānta Sūtra 3.3.53

- (a) पृथिव्यप्तेतजोवायुरिति तत्त्वानि ।†
- (b) तत्समुदाये शरीरेन्द्रियविषयसंज्ञा ।
- (c) तेभ्यश्चैतत्त्वम् ।
- (d) किएवादेभ्यां मदशक्तिवद् विज्ञानम् ।

(2) Sankara's commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra 3.3.53:

- (a) तेभ्यश्चैतत्त्वम् ।
- (b) मदशक्तिवद् विज्ञानम् ।
- (c) चैतत्त्वविषिष्टः कायः पुरुषः ।‡

* It is hard to say anything conclusively in regard to the identity of this Brihaspati with the scholar of the same name who is associated with the foundation of a school of politics. Bhāṣa in the Pratimī (5th Act) and Kautilya in his Arthāśāstra refer, the latter very frequently, to Brihaspati as the author of an Arthāśāstra; and it is interesting to observe that in the वैदिकसमुद्ध ा section of Kautilya's work (Mysore Ed. p. 6) where the views of different Āchāryas are cited as to the number and names of sciences fit for study Brihaspati is quoted as holding that वाची and दण्डनालि are the only branches of knowledge which deserve to be specially cultivated: वाचीनिची and नवी— the sciences dealing with the supersensuous—are ignored as of subsidiary importance. May not this be a fact of some historical significance?

† Noted in the Bhāṣmī, Nir. Ed., p. 767.

‡ These 3 Sūtras occur elsewhere also; Varadarāja in his Kusumāñjali-bodhāṇī quotes the Sūtra marked (b) in the same form; the Sūtra defining the Self appears also in the same form in the Gīti Bhāṣya of Sankara (18.5.) and Śiva Sūtra and with slight verbal alterations in the Pratyabhijñā-bhāṣya (under Sūtra 5), thus: वाचानीष्ट शरीरमात्रः ।

(3) Nilakantha on the Gita -

- (a) चैतन्यविशिष्टः काय. पुरुषः ।
- (b) काम एवैक. पुरुषार्थः ।

(The last 2 Sutras are also quoted by Madhusūdana, Nilakantha and Dhanapati in their commentaries on the Gita (16-11)

(4) Sadananda in the Advaita Brahmasiddhi:

- (a) चैतन्यविशिष्ट कायः पुरुषः ।
- (b) काम एवैकः पुरुषार्थ ।
- (c) मरणमेवापवर्ग ।

We have already dealt at some length with this view in the doctrines the preceding pages where we observed that it had been one of the main dogmas of the Lokayatika sect. We now pass on hurriedly to describe some of the other tenets of the school.

Among these we may mention first of all the doctrine of the four elements. The Cārvakas believed, very much like the Buddhist Philosophers, that Akāsa was not an element at all, it was a Void, an absence of आवरण. Only the four elements in their atomic condition were held to be the basic (root) principles in Creation. The external world, the sense organs as well as the physical organisms were supposed to be the products of these primordial types of matter. But how this production comes to be possible is a question left unexplained. All kinds of causes, known or unknown (शास्त्राणि), being rejected, and the guidance of an Eternal Intelligence being regarded as superfluous the materialist is left with the only alternative open to him, viz to say that this production results from the fortuitous concourse of the blind constitutive particles of matter. Nothing further can be said on this head. It would be illegitimate, so it is urged, to demand an explanation where no explanation can be given.

To the Materialists Life and Consciousness are practically equivalent, and are both believed to originate from Matter. Sentience and the phenomena of mental life are material properties and need not imply a distinct immaterial substance as the Self. It is admittedly true that Consciousness is not observed to inhere in the particles of matter either severally* or even collectively, but this is no argument against the fact that when these particles come to be arranged into a specific form in a manner not yet scientifically explicable they are found to show signs of life. This peculiar collocation of the atoms results in the formation of the organism (रूपरूप).† This is the Self (आत्मा).

That consciousness is a function of the body may be proved by a process of logical demonstration, e.g. by the joint methods of Agreement and Difference (अन्वय and व्यतिरेक) (a) Thus we find by observation, and there is no instance to the contrary that for the manifestation of consciousness body is an inalienable factor and that discarnate consciousness is not possible. This shows that between organism and consciousness there exists some necessary bond, viz that of Causality (b) And Universal experience as expressed in judgments like I feel hot, I feel tired seems to vouch for the truth of this view. It is an indisputable fact that sensations and perceptions can arise only in so far as they are conditioned by a bodily mechanism. But it would not be

* It appears that some of the older materialists did actually attribute consciousness to each of the atoms. But the view does not seem to have obtained currency.

† As to how this peculiar collocation or organisation results it is answered that the union of parents is the immediate cause and as a period of Universal Dissolution is not admitted the difficulty about the first origin of Life and Consciousness does not arise. Brahmananda's Com. on Siddhanta bindu, p. 62

so were not the body the substrate of consciousness (c) Apart from this there is another proof in favour of the causal relation between Matter and Consciousness This is afforded by the description in medical literature of the properties of particular preparations of food and drink *e.g.* Brahm ghrita) conducive to the development of the intellectual powers *

(1) First, since the body is declared to be the agent of all actions it should on grounds of logical consistency, be held morally responsible for their natural consequences But this is scarcely possible (1) The particles which go to the formation of the body are always in a state of flux so that the body which performs an action (कर्म) at one moment does no longer persist at the next to feel its reaction (भोग) (b) And even if this *momentary* fluctuation be not admitted it is nevertheless undeniable that the body suffers change the bodies in two different periods of life are different from each other, for otherwise they could not have different sizes The appearance of a different size implies that the former size is destroyed which is possible only when the subject in which it resides (*i.e.* पूर्वशरीर) is also destroyed

(ii) Secondly, the material theory is incompetent to account for the facts of memory and recognition (स्मृति & प्रत्याभिष्ठा) Necessity of thought demands that memory and the original experience (अनुभव) which gives rise to it should be referred to one and the same conscious subject but this identity of reference would not be possible if the subject were not fundamentally an unchangeable unity

To these alleged objections the Charvaka replies that they are more apparent than real For the second difficulty may be easily got over by supposing that the traces (स्मृति) left by previous experiences are capable of being transmitted

* See Nyayama jari, pp 439—440

(संक्रम) from the prior moment to the succeeding moment i e from the material cause (उपादान) down to its direct product (उपादेय)

As to how this may be possible one may consider, the Chārvāka says, the analogous instance of the transference of the odour of musk to the cloth in contact with it. Here the only condition observed to be necessary is the presence of a relation between the two objects. And between a cause and its effect—the case under consideration—such a relation does undoubtedly exist. The unity of reference may also be ensured by the admission that the impressions, though transferrable, do pertain to, i e are preserved and revived (reproduced) in, a single line or Causal series.

As regards the first point the position of the Chārvāka prevents him from recognising its cogency as an objection. An inveterate foe of the doctrine of Adṛṣṭa he finds no justice, natural or moral, in the government of the Universe, so that the very question of the necessity of logically unifying *Karma* with its *phala* does not appear to him as a problem calling for solution. Bhoga—the experience of pleasure and pain is not determined by a previous *Karma* (पूर्व कर्म), but comes by Chance (यदृच्छा) over which there is no control. This being so, the subjective unity sought for to explain the synthesis of cause and effect needs hardly a ground for establishment *

But even if it were needed we could find it in the unity of the organism. Recognition testifies to the identity of the body through all its changing states and this recognition can not be pronounced false as in the case of nails pared and renewed, for there is no chance here as in the example cited of the body being once destroyed and then substituted by a fresh

*This frame of mind will make intelligible the principles of conduct involved in teachings like कृष्ण गुरुवा वृत्ति प्रवेश etc

one of a similar kind. The fact of recognition which is brought forward as subversive of the alleged momentariness of an object appearing once in consciousness is fatal also to the mutability of the organism *

Besides the above, there are three more views of the material school according as the Self is identified with (1) the sense organs (इन्द्रिय), with (2) the principle of Life (प्राण), or with (3) Mind (मन)

The advocates of the first view set forth that the senses are really the intra organic conscious agents. This view is based on the facts that consciousness and bodily movements (चेष्टा) follow from the initiation of the senses and that the judgments expressed in 'I am blind &c' showing the identity of the Self with the sense organs are universally accepted as valid. Vatsayana thus describes the view तानीन्द्रियाणीमानि स्वस्यविषयग्रहणाद्येतनानि, इन्द्रियाणा भावाभावयोर्विषयग्रहणस्य तथा भावात् । एवं सति किमन्येन चेतनन् । (312)*

The second view consists in maintaining that as the senses depend for existence and operation on the Vital Principle this principle itself is really the source of intelligence. The fact that the presence and absence of the senses involve the origin and non origin of knowledge does not necessarily point to their agency, the fact may be equally explained on the hypothesis of their instrumentality. Moreover, if agency were to be assigned to the senses there would ensure an

*Nyayamajjati, p 437, lines 16-19

† Cf also Vedanta Sara (Jiva Ed, 1914) pp 93, 96, Siddhanta bindu, with Ratnavali (Adv. Mañj. Ed.), pp 56-57, 63-64, and more particularly Vivarana Pramevasaṅgraha, p 181 lines 13-24

insurmountable difficulty in consequence of the absence of organs about the origin of action. Again, the question arises which of the senses is the agent—each of them severally or all combined. In the former case, is the agency simultaneous or successive? Now it is absurd to think that the agency belongs to all the senses indifferently for the object of one sense never becomes cognisable to another and the senses are never known to work concurrently in producing an effect. The alternative of simultaneity is of course out of the question. As to the remaining contention that each of the senses may be an agent *in se*, the reply is if each of these be an absolutely independent agent as asserted, it is likely that in case of conflicting movements due to varied resolutions the balance of the whole bodily organism should be upset, but this is never known to happen. But if the senses were subservient in their functions to the guidance of a Superior Entity it would be reasonable to hold this latter to be the true Self rather than the senses. This Entity is *Prin*, the principle of Persistence during Sleep and Wakeful Condition alike*

Finally, we may mention the view which claims that Consciousness is a quality of the Mind†. Brahmananda, in his commentary on the *Siddhanta bindu* (Advaita Manjari Ed., p. 57), explains the grounds on which this theory is founded, stating that the other organs are only the means of indeterminate sense knowledge (*निर्विकल्पक ज्ञान*), but it is mind

* *Vidvanmanorajum* (Jyoti Ed., 1915, pp. 96-97) Cf. Brahmananda's *Com. on Siddhantabindu*, p. 57 lines 13-14

† See *Vedānta Sāra* p. 97. *Nyāya Sūtra* 3:16. *Nyāya Kandali*, p. 72, 25-26. *Nyāyamanjari* p. 441. *Vivarana Prameya Sangraha* pp. 181-182. This old materialistic doctrine of मन अतन्य was recently revived with fresh vigour by the late Mr. Rakhsila Dasa Nyayaratna, see his *Lattias ra* with his own commentary as well as its refutation by Pandit Hari Dasa Sastri M. A.

alone that introduces into such knowledge the element of determinateness. For this reason, as well as because it controls by virtue of its power of Volition (सङ्कृत्य) the outer organs and may persist and function singly even when the latter happen to be absent (e. g. on the plane of existence called *Swapna*), the Mind is the true Self.

In these different views there is perfect agreement as to ~~the only~~ the number of *pramāṇas* recognised, for all of ~~sources of right~~ them admit that perception is the only way ~~knowledge~~ of gaining a right knowledge of things. Inference is not a valid proof, in as much as the Universal and Necessary relation on which it is based cannot be discovered. In other words, it is practically impossible and logically incongruous to ascend, merely by a process of multiplication of individual instances (भूयोदर्शन) from limited sense-experience to a knowledge of Universal Truths (सर्वोप-संद्वारिणी व्याप्ति). Bare enumeration of facts, however far it may be carried, hardly suffices to find out the element of Necessity involved in generalisations. Perception is unable to establish the truth of Induction. For though perception may tell us e. g. that *this* particular A is related to *this* particular B this knowledge would hardly justify its extension in the form of 'all A's are related to B's.' What right have we, with the limited faculties at our command, to jump into the Unknown and assert a Categorical Universal proposition? Moreover, the assertion of such a proposition would presuppose the elimination of all accidental factors (उपाधि विपूतन). But how is the absence of these factors to be made known? Perception would not fail where these are by nature supersensuous, and the validity of inference as a proof has been already controverted. There would thus cling an abiding suspicion, not removable by any means accessible to man, as to the truth of every universal judgment.

Thus according to the Charvaka perception being the only criterion of existence whatever is not perceived is held to have no existence at all **यज्ञोपलङ्घते तत्रास्ति** This view naturally leads up to scepticism But for practical purposes probability (समाधान) alone is sufficient* Thus at the sight of smoke rising from a certain place there arises in the mind a sense of the *probability* of fire and not of its *certainty*, and this is enough for all practical purposes For this end there is no need to assume the existence of a distinct kind of evidence, called Inference The notion of pramāṇa is being the basis of certain knowledge is due to Chance Coincidence (संघाद) between the knowledge which led to the activity (प्रयत्नस्थान) and the attainment of the object in which the activity is fulfilled (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्य) i.e. harmony between thought and object

From the above sketch of the philosophical notions of the materialists it can well be seen why there is no room for God in this system The usual arguments held out by the theists have not for them the force of persuasion And if even the principle of physical causality being denied it is idle to urge they would say, that God is the moral Governor of the world adjusting the *Karmas* of the jīvas or that He is the Universal Agent—the author of the contingent phenomena And to one to whom the Vedas reveal no signs of infallibility it is equally

vain to attempt showing that from them the existence of a Omniscient Spirit could be inferred. And last but not least, Inference itself (अनुमान) is denied. The senses do not confessedly reach Him and verbal testimony falls under the category of inference. There is no means of ascertaining, therefore, that an all-knowing, all-powerful spirit exists. Nature (स्वभाव), and not God, is the watch-word of this school*.

(To be continued)

*The position of the Lokayatikas is thus summarised in the Vivaranya Prameya Sangraha, p. 221. : भूतच्छृङ्खलेष्व इति. प्रयच्छेष्वेष्व नामात्, इत्यात्माद् एव पातमात्मेष्वः ।

Thus according to the Chārvāka perception being the only criterion of existence whatever is not perceived is held to have no existence at all **यत्तोपलक्ष्यते तत्त्वास्ति** This view naturally leads up to scepticism But for practical purposes probability (संभावना) alone is sufficient* Thus at the sight of smoke rising from a certain place there arises in the mind a sense of the *probability* of fire, and not of its *certainty*, and this is enough for all practical purposes For this end there is no need to assume the existence of a distinct kind of evidence, called Inference The notion of pramāna as being the basis of certain knowledge is due to Chance Coincidence (संचाद) between the knowledge which led to the activity (प्रवृत्तक ज्ञान) and the attainment of the object in which the activity is fulfilled (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्य), i.e. harmony between thought and object

From the above sketch of the philosophical notions of the materialists it can well be seen why there is no room for God in this system. The usual arguments held out by the theists have lost for them the force of persuasion. Adṛṣṭa or even the principle of physical causality being denied, it is idle to argue, they would say, that God is the moral Governor of the world adjusting the *Karmas* of the jivas, or that He is the Universal Agent—the author of the contingent phenomena. And to one to whom the Vedas reveal no signs of infallibility it is equally

*So far this view is exactly what Arcesilaus is said to have asserted in reply to the Stoic's objection that scepticism makes life impossible, viz—"Probability is the only rule of practical life". This is the doctrine of Probabilism. The difference, however, lies in this that while Arcesilaus doubts all knowledge, including even sense-perception the Chārvāka leaves margin for it

vain to attempt showing that from them the existence of a Omniscient Spirit could be inferred. And last but not least, Inference itself (अनुमान) is denied. The senses do not confessedly reach Him and verbal testimony falls under the category of inference. There is no means of ascertaining, therefore, that an all-knowing, all-powerful spirit exists. Nature (स्वभाव), and not God, is the watch-word of this school*.

(To be continued)

*The position of the Lokayatikas is thus summarised in the Vivarapa Prameya Saṅgraha, p. 221, : भूतव्युद्योग तथा, प्रयत्नसे रह द्याव, सर्वावाद एव पारम्पर्यः ।

IV GLEANINGS FROM THE HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NYAYA VAISNAKA LITERATURE

BY GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

PREFATORY NOTE

The history of Nyaya Vaisesika Philosophy remains still to be written, and the time does not seem to be yet ripe for undertaking it present a work of this kind in as thorough a manner as might be desired. In the meantime a good deal of spade work will have to be done thus, it will be necessary to survey the whole field carefully and have an accurate and up to date knowledge of the resources available for this purpose.

Such, Faddegon Keith,—to name some among many—have rendered brilliant services to the cause of Nyaya Vaisesika Philosophy by their invaluable works. But as their had necessarily to rest on insufficient data none of these works can properly claim to be a history of philosophy presenting a consistent and exhaustive account of the development of thought in all its shades.

As regards bibliography Mr Chakravarti's paper on 'Nyaya Nyaya in Bengal (in the J A S B) is excellent but its scope is narrow and it is a bit too scrappy. Dr Vidyā Bhāskar's posthumous 'History of Indian Logic' is interesting but though apparently exhaustive it suffers from the same limitations, and I believe to a much greater extent and it seems that the book needs a careful revision especially, where it treats of the bibliography of the mediaeval and modern schools.

The following pages represent an humble, but further, contribution in the field made on the basis of the available

data in the hope of helping to prepare the ground for a systematic History of *Vāya Vaiśeṣika* Philosophy. These data consist among others in the study of (a) about 1500 Manuscripts in original on the subject belonging to the Library of the Government Sanskrit College Benares and to certain local private Collections and of (b) others as reported in the various Catalogues and Notices of MSS.

The History of *Vāya Vaiśeṣika* Philosophy is expected to follow soon. But its accomplishment and publication will naturally depend upon those of the bibliography herewith presented.

The Ancient Section of the work needs a separate and special treatment it has been therefore omitted from these pages and will appear in a forthcoming issue of the Studies.

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

In the following pages we shall start at once with the mediaeval period and proceed slowly with the course of time, reserving for a separate study the early history of the Literature of the systems and its bibliography.

It is assumed that the mediaeval age of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* schools of thought opened with the eighth century, when the writings of Uddyotakarṇi and Prasāstriṇḍī had already become things of the past. There is no doubt that the Hindu *Nyāya* *Śastra* suffered a temporary eclipse in these times under the overshadowing influence of Buddhist (and Jain) Sciences of Reasoning. It is probable that the Buddhist monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramasīla, &c. had some share in bringing about this end. That individual scholars of extraordinary powers rose in defence of Buddhist Philosophy and set themselves to the task of demolishing whatever they found inconsistent with the accepted notions of their schools is beyond a shadow of doubt. And this they did more from a vindictive zeal than from any righteous or sensible motive. The name of Dharmakīrti as one among many such polemic authors may be cited in this connection.

The curtain rises with the appearance on the scene of Bhāsarvajna, the author of *Nyāyasāra*, in Kasbnur and of Trīlochanī, the tutor of the great Vāchaspati Miśra, on the plains

I BHĀSARVAJNA

As far as our present knowledge extends it may be said with justice that Bhāsarvajna's *Nyāyasāra* stands unique in the history of the Mediaeval School of *Nyāya* philosophy in India. But the work has not been thoroughly examined yet, and I believe that a careful analysis of its contents will yield results of great historical interest. It would be foreign to

the purpose of these pages to enter into an examination of this kind, but some points may be noted in passing

A (a) In the first place I take up the question of the number of pramanas. Here Bhasarvajña is very emphatic in his assertion that (1) Pratyakṣa (2) Aṇumāna and (3) Agama are the *only* pramanas to be recognized (pp 30⁸, 34¹⁰ 11), the other alleged pramanas including upamāna, already coming under the above. The rejection of upamāna * to which the old School held fast with such tenacity is certainly characteristic, and is probably to be accounted for as the effect of the influence of Yogi Philosophy (cf. Yō Sut 17)†, which might have acted upon it directly or through the Pratyabhijñā philosophy.

(b) While setting forth the means to be adopted for realising Mokṣa Bhasarvajña prescribes नियायोग consisting of

* The Sarva Sādhanā Samgraha in its section on Nyāya (VI, 5, p 24⁹), observes चतुर्वर्ष प्रमाणानि नोपम वै तु कस्यचित्. This कस्यचित् I interpret as referring to Bhasarvajña whom we know as the earliest writer among the Nyāyikas admitting the threefold character of pramanas. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the statement of the famous Kārka in Sureśvar Acharya's Mānasollasa, II 17 18 (Mysore Ed., pp 49 50), which also occurs in the Tarkikaraka (p 56), viz.,

प्रत्यक्ष रुचार्थका काणारम्भते पुरा ।
प्रत्यक्षान च तथाय स एष या यद्यत्ते प्रति ॥
न्यायेन्द्रियानाऽप्येवमुपनान च कर्तव ।

where Mallinatha explains the word न्यायेन्द्रियान as भूषयाद्य, i.e. followers of the doctrines of भूषय or भावद्य for भूषय being a work of Bhasarvajña, see *infra*

† Though Sankhya too admits three pramanas (Sam Sut 3 99—101, Sam Kārka 4), its influence on Bhasarvajña's work was nothing. The possible allegation of Vais influence is well founded would be more to the point. But it does not appear that Bhasarvajña had much sympathy with this school.

तप , स्थाध्याय and ईश्वरप्रणिधान This, he holds, is to serve as a helping practice for the sterilisation of *klesas*, and, through a graduated course of what are technically called Sadhanas viz यम, नियम and the other योगाङ्कs, for the attainment of Samadhi This is exactly the view expressed in १० Sut II 1

(c) It also appears that the classification of *prameya** in Nyayasara (p 34), viz into दृश्य, तत्त्विक्त्वक आत्मनितकदान and द्वानोपाय follows on the lines of the Yoga Sutras II 16 17, 25 26† (cf also Vijnanabbikṣu's Introduction to Sankhya Pravachana Bhashya) That Bhasarvajna had exactly these Sutras in his mind would follow as a plain corollary from a

* I fail to see any ground in Dr Vidyābhusana's statement (lot ० to Nyayasara p 2) that Bhasarvajna 'treats only one topic, viz अपाय to his work for the whole of the latter portion of the book (pp. 341-419) is devoted to a consideration of the *prameyas*. It is immaterial that his formulation of the *prameyas* should differ from that of the older school

† We need not suppose that this four-fold division of *prameya* in Nyayasara is based directly upon an analogy of the 4 *ariya saecas* of the Buddhists (cf Sanyutta Nikaya, V 420-2) But as to the further question whether some of the Yoga Sutras themselves, as we have them to-day, originated under Buddhistic influence, it would be out of place to suggest any reply here. It is enough for the purpose in hand to concede that the Yoga Sutras in their present form and Vjasa's Commentary upon them are earlier than Bhasarvajna's day, and this, I believe will be readily allowed. We may also remember that in Bhasarvajna's time or even before it, the doctrines and practices of Yoga had been widely in currency in Kashmir. That peculiar form of Kashmir Shaivism which goes by the name of Pratyabhijna Darśana had already been evolved as a compromise between the Theism of Yoga and the Advaita of Saṅkara, and in this Darśana therefore Yoga occupies a prominent position. Living in such a religious atmosphere, it was not strange that Bhasarvajna should have been deeply influenced in his doctrines by Yoga.

comparative study of Nyayasara p 34^{1 8} (हेय दुर्बलमनागतम्)
and Yoga Sut II 16

(d) Bhasarvajna's definition of प्रत्यक्ष may be cited as a further example of how yoga deeply influenced his whole mental outlook. Perceiving that Gautama's प्रत्यक्षलक्षण (Ny Sut 114) does not apply to the transcendental visions of the Yogins* for which the contact of an object with the sense organs is not a necessary precondition and which with him had a profound reality he was constrained to alter the प्रत्यक्षलक्षण accordingly thus योगिप्रत्यक्ष देशकालस्वभावविप्रकृष्टार्थप्राहकम् ।

B It may seem however that the introduction into a Nyaya work ideas and practices which we have been accustomed to associate with Yoga is of the nature of an accident. But as a matter of fact it has a historical significance which grows deeper in interest the more our acquaintance is widened with the course of ancient and mediaeval philosophy. For though Yoga in its wider form has been practically accepted by every system of Indian philosophy its relation with Nyaya is in some manner more special and perhaps fundamental. Here are for example some instances recorded in literature where the expression *Yoga* is employed invariably to indicate a professor of or pertaining to Nyaya.

(i) वैशेषिकनेयायिकयो ग्राय समानत-तत्त्वादौलूक्यमते क्षिते यैगमतमपि क्षितमेवादसेयम् ।

Syadvāda Manjari (Yaso Vijaya Jaina Series p 628)

* It is strange that whereas Nyaya Sutras do not recognise वैशेषिकता at all the Vaish Sutras dwell upon it at great length (cf Vaish Sut 91115) Neither Vatsayana nor Uddyotakara take note of it. The latter, on the other hand, definitely asserts सत्त्विक to be sixfold and is silent on what is known as वैशेषिक सत्त्विक. It would seem that before the days of Tattvachitāmaṇi the difference between वैशेषिक and वैशेषिक सत्त्विक was not positively declared in a Nyaya treatise. Cf Raghunatha's Padartha Ratnamala, p 711-13

(ii) नैयायिकानां योगापराभिधानानां

Saddarśana Samuccaya Vṛtti, by Gunaratna, p 49.

(iii) ज्ञानान्तरप्रत्यक्षज्ञानवादिनां योगानां च मतमपाकर्तुम्

(That this is the view of the Naïyayikas is well known (cf their theory of *anuvyavasaya*) It is ascribed to them in the most unequivocal terms by Ananta Virya himself, at p 49 of the above gloss, thus, ज्ञानान्तरप्रत्यक्षत्वादिति नैयायिका ।

(iv) प्रतिज्ञाद्वाहरणोपतयनिगमनभेदात् पञ्चावयवामिति योगाः ।

Ibid, p 44

(v) नापि सामान्यविशेषो परस्परानेष्ट्वा इति योगमतमपि, &c

Ibid, p 44

(vi) Cf Raja Sekhara's Saddarśana Samuccaya (Yaso-Vijaya Jaini Series), pp 8 & 12 (verse 23)*

These evidences though coming from sources not recognised as orthodox, need not be summarily dismissed as calling for no attention [But cf Nyāya Varttika, Ben Ed, p 105, under Sutra 11 29 where the word 'Yauga' is employed in the sense of Naïyayika] Their cumulative weight is considerable Besides, the Sarva Siddhanta Sangraha of Śāṅkara (pp 24¹¹, 28³, 10 12) affords distinct proof in support of a relation existing between Nyāya and Yoga, for it is maintained there that according to Nyāya Mokṣa follows directly from Yoga, a doctrine which it shares in common with the Pātanjala system (as distinguished from the Sāṃkhya where

* Cf also नैयायिकसास्ययो कथाया भौतिकानीद्विद्यार्थिति योगानामभौतिकानोपि सास्यानामिति वाचिक योगाना नैयायिकानान् ।

(Nyāya Siddhantamāla of Jayatēma, Ms of Bību Dīkṣita Jāṭe fol 16a, b)

jñāna is held to be the immediate cause of *Mukti**). The *Nyaya* *Darsana*, in its present form, contains some *Sutras* (4 2 38 49) where the practices of *Yoga* are strongly recommended

C From the above it seems to be pretty clearly made out that the relation between *Nyaya* and *Yog* was an intimate one, and Bhasarvajna in laying stress upon certain *Yoga* practices in his treatise on *Nyaya* was not guilty of irrelevancy. His exposition was only a reflection—dim but faithful—of the then existing mediæval condition of this philosophy. But how, under what ascertainable influences, this fusion came about is a question to which no thoroughly convincing answer can be returned at present. Probably the right explanation will be found, *inter alia*, in the discovery of a bond of historical unity between these schools, and in my opinion this is supplied by the original *Śivagama* or its philosophical counterpart, the so called *Iśvaravāda*, out of which not only the present form of *Yoga* and *Nyaya*, but the later *Sāṃ* philosophies also may have well arisen and gradually crystallised themselves into independent systems.

At any rate in *Nāvāsara* *Sāṃ* influences are clearly discernible in many places. On p. 59 Bhasarvajna observes that two things are requisites as immediate antecedents for a direct vision of the Supreme Self (called here *Śiva*) and Final Release निरन्तरिष्यं श्रेयः to follow, viz परब्रह्माण्य (known as अनामन्ति) and परा भक्ति towards *Mahesvara*. This sloka is quoted

यदा चर्मघदाकाशं द्वैषिष्यन्ति मानवा ।

तदा शियमविश्वाय दुखस्यान्तो भविष्यति ॥

(श्वेताश्वतर उपनिषद् VI 20)

* See *Ibid.*, pp. 36 40 & 41. Cf *Sa. Sut* 3 20—ज्ञाना मुक्ति । The *Yoga* view, as represented in *Sarasiddhanta Sangraha*, is briefly thus ।

पुरुषदिद्योरेष्यागो ददादिषामि पूरप । इदंषेषदोऽपास्तु योगसद विनाशयत् ॥

It is, as we know, a stock verse among the Saivas (cf Sarva Darsana Sangraha, Saiva Darsana) The inculcation (23) of course, but it may be due in both cases to Saiva influence. And similarly when we find in Nyāya Sāra, p. 35, the concept of Isvara expressed in language like 'ऐश्वर्यादिविशिष्ट संसारधर्मरीपदत्यसंदृष्टे परो भगवान् महेश्वरः सर्वज्ञसत्त्वजगद्विधाता' it is hard to decide between Yoga and Saivism as its probable source. The definition here given is taken almost *verbatim* from Yoga Sūtras 1.24.54, but then it is likely that these Sutras themselves were originally of Saiva formulation. It may be remembered that the word ईश्वर or महेश्वर as found in Nyāya & Yoga was originally a name of Siva, as the corresponding word पुरुष (of Sankhya), or rather its derivative पुरुषोत्तम, came to mean Narayana. [We are not concerned here with the metaphysical contents of the terms ईश्वर and पुरुष or पुरुषोत्तम but only with their sectarian meanings.] In this way then the philosophy of ईश्वरवाद is brought into close contiguity with the Saiva theology, and we can understand why Sankara (Ved. Sct 2.2.37) should have arrayed in a line (under Isvara-vādinī) such opponents as the

* This would be a confirmation of what Gunaratna actually says in his commentary on Hāmbhadrī's *Saṅkara Samuccaya*. Rājasekhara (एकदर्शनसूत्रात्, pp. 34,42-43) also mentions the fact that the Saṅkhyas were worshippers of Narayana (नारायणः) and the Yogins of Isvara or Siva (ईश्वरेष्व). In this connection the conception of Siva as the Yogi *par ex cellence* may also be remembered as implying that Yoga was theologically a Saiva system.

† This is not the right place to enter into a discussion of ईश्वरवाद and its relation to the other *śāstas* which arose in ancient India, in attempting to solve the problem of Efficiency (क्रियेत्वम्) and the Origin of Motion. In a general sense Nyāya too, while dealing with this question must come under the category of ईश्वरवाद. The fact that Ny. 3.1. 6-10. 4. 1. 20-21 are directed against ईश्वरवाद does not indicate, however, that this view is repudiated as altogether

vocates of Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and other Saṅkāra doctrines [It is to be remembered that the अधिकरण of ईश्वरधार is explained in Ratnāprabha, Bhāmatī and Ānandagīrti as bearing on माहेश्वरमत]*

It is historically interesting to note how the element of Bhakti has come to find a place in Bhāsarvajīna's work. The notion that Bhakti is the invariable antecedent of Jñāna is admittedly very old in India. Certainly the conception was familiar as an integral part of the theology of Nyāya (Vaiśeṣika) when the Sarvasiddhānta Saṅgraha was written, for its importance is recognised there. the doctrine of भक्ति (= Faith²), perhaps the word is here an equivalent of धर्म and has not yet assumed the highly emotional colouring of the later age) and the parallel doctrine of Grace (प्रसाद) are accepted as essential in this twin system, so that Mokṣa or Realisation of the Self's Identity is held in both the Schools to ensue through Faith (भक्ति) and Divine Grace (प्रसाद), the mutual difference of the Schools being that while Nyāya adhered to Yoga as the direct antecedent of Mokṣa, Vaiśeṣika kept away from it. The beginnings of this doctrine may be traced back to a remote past (perhaps even to the pre upaniṣadic period), but its connection with Nyāya remains for investigation. I suppose that here, too, as elsewhere, unwarrantable, it means simply that the extreme form of this doctrine as illustrated in the so called पाशुपति दंगन in Sarvadarsana Saṅgraha (e.g. निषेदकर्त्तृत्व of Iswara, meaning that the Agency of Iswara is free and spontaneous, and *not determined by* the Karmas of the Jīvas) is incompatible with its general background. Cf Tat Tīkā, p. 418, lines 13-14

◦ Rāja Śekhara & Cūḍaratna take

शेव=नैयायिक (called तपत्वी या रथाद्वाद्यन्ते)

& पाशुपति=वैशेषिक ।

These are two out of the 4 Mahesvara sects. Ratnāprabha and Ānandagīrti differ from this view.

the influence of Saivism is palpable. [Bhāsarvajīna notes the भूक्ति element alone, but we may be sure that he had nothing to say against the corresponding element of Grace too, which occurs in the Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad, a high authority with Bhāsarvajīna, as with all Saiva philosophers.]

D. Another point to which attention may be briefly drawn in a study of Nyāyasāra is the recognition of a distinction between Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika in their earlier (but post-Vātsyāyanīya) forms in the conception of Mokṣa. The former held that Mokṣa consists in the attainment of the essentially blissful character of the Self, involving of course cessation of all Pain (which embraces, among other things, the sensible pleasure too), but the latter, unable to conceive of any higher pleasure than what passes for it in the world, were reluctant to admit that in Mokṣa happiness persists. Their view of Mokṣa was thus negative, as consisting in the absence of all the *vिशेषगुण* of the Self, including with other qualities तुःख as well as सुख & शान्. Bhāsarvajīna notes this distinction (pp 39-41)* and taking side with the Nyāyīka (p 417-8), thus concludes “अनेन (i.e. निष्येन) सुखन चिह्निष्टा आत्मनितिकी तुःखनिवृत्तिः पुरुषस्य मोक्षः” (cf. Gunaratna's report of this view, pp. 93-94).† That such a distinction did really exist between the two systems during a certain period would be evidenced by the two definitions of मुक्ति in Sarvasiddhānta Saṅgraha :

(i) Under “Vaiśeṣika pākṣa” we have (V. 35-36)—

तत् (परमेश्वर) प्रसादेन मोक्षः स्यात् करणोपरमात्मकः ।

* The Commentators Bhatṭa Raghava (Ben Sk Coll Ms 162, fol 98a4) and Jaya Simha Sūri (pp 282, 284) plainly ascribe the two views as expounded in Nyāyasāra to Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya.

† This view, which latterly came to be associated with Nyāya, had been recognised as a पूर्वपक्ष in Vātsyāyanīya's Comn entary on Ny. Sūt. 1.1.22.

करणोपरमे त्वामा पापाणवदवस्थितः ।
दु खसाध्यसुयोच्छेदो दु खोच्छेदयदेव न ।

(ii) Under 'Naijāyika pakṣa' (VI 41-43)—

नित्यानन्दालुभूतिः स्यान्मालिः तु विषयादते ।
वरं पृष्ठदाधनं रथ्ये दृगालत्यं वृणोम्यदम् ।
वैशेषिकोक्तमोक्तात् सुखेष्विवर्जितात् ॥*

Whether this Ananda element found admission into Nyāya directly through Vedānta or through its Kashmirian representative—the Pratyabhijñā 'chool of thought'—cannot be ascertained. But the authorities quoted (cf. Vidyabhusaya's Ed., p. 40¹⁰⁻¹³) by Bhāsavajna are worthy of note.

I think the above will suffice to bring out the historical importance of this neglected tractise, and serve as a plea for its wider appreciation.

* * * * *

It was not known whether Bhāsavajna had written any other work, besides the one under notice. Neither Vidyabhusaya nor Surih seems to have anything to say in this regard. But Bhatta Raghava, whose *ṭīka* on Nyāya is generally pronounced to be the oldest extant Commentary on the book supplies positive proof to show that Bhāsavajna had written a gloss called *भृष्णि* on his own work. I do not entertain any doubt as to the identity of this *Bhrasana* with the Nyāya *bhrasana* mentioned by Gunaratna (p. 94⁶) and Rajasekhara

* The sloka occurs in a slightly variant form in the following Ślok. —

दृ वृद्धावन रथ्ये दृगालत्यं वृणोम्यदम् ।
न व वैषेषिकी मुक्तिं साधेयामि कदाचन ॥'

The expression 'न व वैषेषिकी मुक्तिं' is significant. Over against this above stands, however, the statement in the *Naisadha* (17.75)—मुक्तेष्व
ए विजात्याव याच्छमूच्च &c which may be explained as either due to confusion (common in the later period) or as referring to the original system instead of its medieval modification.

? 10⁷) as the oldest of the 18 commentaries on Nyayasara and it is this to which Jaya Singh Suri in his Commentary on Nyayasara so often refers * Here is what Bhāṭṭa Raghava says (I quote from Ms 162 of the Government Sanskrit library, Benares) यत्तु स्मरणादानति पाठान्तरं (cf Vidyābhūṣaṇa Ed of Nyayasara Text p 2⁹-1⁰) तिष्ठति तत् गणितमन्यपाठकदोपादित्युपेद्यम् । भूषणे च भासर्वदैरक्षानस्य गगादरिति व्याकुर्वद्विरीदश एव पाठ कण्ठतोऽपि प्रतिष्ठित ।

Fol 116⁴⁻⁵

In Nyayasara the reading generally met with is this —स्मरण-हानव्यवद्वेदार्थपनुभवग्रहणम्, i.e. the word अनुभव in the definition of pramaṇa (viz सम्यग्नुभवसाधनं प्रमाणम्) is employed to guard against the possible inclusion of स्मरण and हान. Bhāṭṭa Raghava criticises the above as pedantic, and on his own part approves the reading स्मरण and अहान. The ground of his preference, he adds is that Bhāsarvajīa himself has established that reading (अहान) with the stamp of his sanction in commenting on the word in भूषण.

In continuation of the evidence of Bhāṭṭa Raghava we may point out that in Nyaya Lilavati Vallabhacharya also refers to Bhāsarvajīa as the author of Bhāsāra. Thus—

तदिदं चिरन्तनचैषोपिकमतद्वूपण भूषणकारस्यातित्रपाकरम् ।
तदियमतास्तातता भासर्वदैश्य यदयमाचार्यमन्यतो ।

(Nyaya Lilavati १८ Ed p 3.)

The question here relates itself to the existence of स्मरण as an independent guna. The author of Bhāsāra denies it as unnecessary, and thus breaks loose from the traditional ideas of the school (cf Vāsiṣṭa Sut 116 and Praśastapada, p 111) Hence the above remark †

* Cf Vidyābhūṣaṇa Ed याक्तात्पदोपिता pp 56 64 65 67 80 87

† In commenting on Nyayasara (Vidyābhūṣaṇa Ed, p 3⁸-9) Bhāṭṭa Raghava makes the following observations, showing that according to Bhāsarvajīa मरण & वृक्षस्त्र as separate gunas have

Again, Chitsukha quotes in his *Tattvapradipikā* (N. Sag. Ed., 1915, p. 224), under the name of Bhāsavajñā (भूपण-कारभाषितं) the definition of Viparyaya as भित्यार्थ्यथसायो-विषयं यः ।

A glance at *Nyāyasāra* (Vidyābhūṣaya's Ed., p. 2⁸) would show that this is Bhāsavajñā's own definition. [Observe that here also Bhāsavajñā leans towards Yoga. Cf. Yo. Sat 1.8]

Pratyaksavaropa, in his commentary on Chitsukha's *Tattvapradipikā*, quotes the definitions of *Samsaya* and *Pratyakha* as given by the author of *Nyāyabhoṣaya* in these terms; (1) तथाच 'अनवधारणाम् संशयः' इति वदतो न्यायभूपणकारस्य वदनस्तरोऽहं व्याहृतिद्विमाद्वद्वतम् (p. 222) & (2) 'सम्भगपरोत्तात् तु भूपणसाधनं प्रत्यक्षम्' (p. 230). These definitions occur in the *Nyāyasāra*. In the same manner Mallīṣeṇa also quotes (in the *Siddhāntāñjali*, p. 65, Yasovijaya Jain Series) Bhāsavajñā's definition of *Pratyakha* as that of the author of *Nyāyabhoṣaya* Sātra. These are further arguments in favour of the proposed identity of the authors of *Nyāyasāra* and Bhūṣana.

The full title of Bhāsavajñā's Commentary was as already stated *Nyāyabhoṣaya*, which for convenience of reference came to be shortened into mere Bhūṣana. While expatiating on the famous passage in *Kiraṇāvali*—तस्माद् धर्म-भूपणः कर्मापि गुणस्तद्वच्छण्योगात् (Vindhyesvarī Prasād's Ed., p. 160)—Vādīndra mentions the fuller name of the book. Thus, no existence, but that in the manner of प्रमेयत्वं they reside in all the padārthas alike :

अन सदशपद्य परमते इत्येतम् । तद्वते तु संस्लिप्तहृष्टवदोः सक्षपश्यार्थनेत्रसेन समाध्यवद्वायावाद् । यदा दि प्रमेयत्वपवदादाद् सक्षपश्यार्थेषु प्रमेयत्वं विद्या संस्लिप्तहृष्टवदोः सक्षपश्यार्थेषु पृथक् पृथक् इत्याप्याभिष्ठा । तु चिद्वाकिकाणां मृपा भवेत् ।

Fol. 14a³-5

(Cf. *Nyāya Līlāvati*. The author of *Upaskāra* (7.2.1) thus puts the view of Bhūṣana on संशय—इत्युपोष्ट एतत्तद्, एव रूपमेतत् तु इत्यादिकम् । Cf. also Guṇa *Kiraṇāvali*, p. 192).

in his Rasasara we read- कर्म गुण सामान्यवत्त्वे स्पर्शानाधारत्वे
च सति द्रव्याश्रितत्वात् । सामान्यवत्त्वे सति कार्यानाधारत्वा-
दित्यनुमानाद्यक कर्म गुण इति न्यायभूपणकार । *

Mr Haraprisada Sāstri, in his Preface to "Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts", p 11, distinguishes the न्यायभूपण known as the Commentary on Nyayasāra from the Bhuṣāṇa referred to in the pages of the Tārkikarakṣā (pp 341, 351 & 353). The latter, he observes, is "a Vṛtti on the Nyaya Sūtras" [Cf also f note 1 in Kiraṇāvalī (guṇa), pp 160, 192] Sual, in a note at p 59 of his work, seems also inclined to accept this view. But nowhere are the grounds clearly stated. Possibly it is supposed that as all the three references to Bhuṣāṇakāra in the Tārkikarakṣā, bear on निप्रदस्थान—a subject to which the Nyāya Sūtras have devoted a lengthy discussion, the Bhuṣāṇa must be a gloss on these Sūtras. But I fear this supposition is vitiated by what I might call the fault of 'undue extension' (गौरव). It is more likely that passages quoted in Tārkikarakṣā have been taken from the section dealing with the varieties of निप्रदस्थान in Bhāsarvajña's Commentary on Nyayasāra (cf also Tārkikarakṣā, p 351¹⁰⁻¹¹ & Nyayasāra p 26¹⁶⁻¹⁷). As to whether the statements attributed to Nyayabhuṣāṇa by Ratnakīrti (Six Bud Ny Tracts, pp 11, 58) are really those of Bhāsarvajña himself in Bhuṣāṇa or of a distinct author of that name, I cannot presume to judge.

* Rasasara, p 4, edited by Gopinath Kaviraj (Benares Sarasvati Bhavana Texts No 5). But on p 7, in defending the orthodox view as to the independent character of कर्म as a category, the author of Rasasara himself refers to the shortened form of the name एतेन कर्माणि गुण इति भूपणोऽपि भायुक्तः । चामान्यवत्त्वे । चति उद्यान-
विमानवत्त्वे भूपदस्थायाप्यत्रोदर्तोऽनिर्मित्युपस्थारत्वे वा कर्माणि वापादनुमानसः क्षम्यापि
भाषायनुमानसः क्षम्यापि ।

II TĀTPARYĀCHĀRĀ

The name of this author seems to have well nigh disappeared from the subsequent history of the literature. But it would appear from references by earlier writers that he had been a man of considerable influence. Udayana quotes his view on *Pramanyavida* in his *Atmatattva Viveka** (Jayanara yaṇa Tīrakapāñchanana's Ed. p. 65²⁰) and though it is set aside there as being irreconcilable with the system of traditional Nyaya (न्यायस्त्रप्रदाय) to which he himself belonged, the mere fact of its being quoted by an eminent scholar like himself would constitute a claim for its propounder to a wider recognition.

Mr Vindhyan Prasad Dube (Intros to *Prasasta pada Bhāṣya* with Kiranavali p 28) and the late Mr Chandra Kanta Tarkalankara (Intro to his own Commentary on *Kusumanjali Harcas*, p 11) identified this *Tatparyachārya* with Vachaspati Miśra, the author of *Tatparyāṭīka* but this will have to be given up now in view of the decisive statement of Vallabhachārya in the *Nyāyālavatī*

तदियमनाश्वातता भासर्वहस्य यदयमाचार्यमध्यवमन्यते ।
तथा च तदनुयायिनश्वातपर्याचार्यस्य सिद्धान्त 'सविदेव हि
भगवती' लादि ।

(Mr. Sagara Ed. p. 33 10 12)

From this passage it is evident that Tatparyacharya was a follower (possibly a direct successor or even Commentator) of Bhasarvajna and that his attitude towards the orthodox school like that of his own Guru was often not quite a

० पृष्ठकोटिनिष्ठतो हनुभद्रो निश्चय । ज्ञानितद्वमग्राहिणि च ज्ञाने न
द्वैरभिति ० यवस्थितिरेतद्वयाप्तं प्राप्ताप्यवनिष्ठयं परत द्वयेति न्यायप्रदाय । अत द्वयति
विषयात् वाण्यस्य स्वतु द्वयति तु स्वयत्वं य ।

[†] For another reference to Tatparyacharya see Vachaspati II, Khadyanoddhara, p. 81.

phant one. The dictum ascribed to him in Nyayalilāvati is quoted in full by Śankara Miśra in Upaskara (7 2 26), by Jayarāma in Nyāya Siddhantamāla (fol. 120 a¹)* and by Vāchaspati II in Khaṇḍanoddhāra (Ben Ed., p 103), where it stands thus

‘ संविदेव हि भगवती वस्तृपगमे नः शरणम् । † ’

It is an appeal to Intuition or Immediate Perception as against the formal testimony of Authority for the ascertainment of the real character of an object (वस्तृपगम) ‡ This would

* Ms. of Babu Dikshita Jade of Benares

† It is quoted in Paumāla, a com. on महायसेज्जी (V. 32) by Maheśvarananda, thus संविदेव ममाती विषयक्त्वोपगम शरणम्, etc. (p 80, Trivand Ed.)

‡ In Nyayalilāvati, for example, the question arises as to whether तत्त्व as an independent quāa is to be admitted. The Sutrakara and Prasastapada both much for its separate existence, but Bhāskaravajus and with him Tatparyachārya, emphatically deny it, setting at naught the weight of all tradition, apparently on the simple but ultimate ground of कारण विवेद. It is interesting to note that *Sūtrātma*, or as it is somewhere in a more restricted sense denominated 'pratīti', as the final arbiter for all decisions, is practically admitted by all [Cf. Śankara Miśra's remarks in Upaskara on the Samavaya Sūtra (cf. also Jayanta, p 312). Precisely the same attitude of mind is evinced by the opponent in Nyayamanjari when he defies the authority of Prasastapada on the strength of what he calls 'प्रतीति' (Nyayamanjari, pp 136²⁴, 137²). Thus, referring to the statement of Prasastapada (Viz. Ed., p 24), viz. प्रयाका प्रयत्नवस्तुपत्तद्वत् त्वे, the opponent, anxious to establish the *pratyak्षatva* of *Kala* declaims “ नेदं देविक वचन यद्यनितिक्लायत् । त च वचनं प्रयत्नवस्तुपत्तद्वत् च एवं याप्तं । प्रस्तुतवत् हि पेन्द्रियक्रत्ति विविषयत्वमुद्देते । तदेवदर्शत कालस्य नाकृत्वस्यापि प्रयत्नता केन वर्यते ।

Viz Ed., pp 136²⁷-137³.

Viewed from our present standpoint the drift of the opponent's

seem to correspond, in one of its aspects, to the Pratibhā of the Yoga system (Yo Sut. 3. 54) described as immediate and all embracing, as distinguished from अनुमान and आगम which are remote [cf "सर्ववस्तुनि संविदेकहरणानि &c" in Pramāna Pārāyaṇa by Śālikanātha, Upamāna Chap. (Pandit, Old Series, Vol. I, p. 153). संविद्, comprising अनुभूति (= प्रमा, there being no false presentation according to Prabhākaras) and स्मृति (संस्कारमात्राः संविद्) is a favourite word with the Prabhākaras.] The epithet भगवती as applied to संविद् is strangely reminiscent of Kashmir Saivism or Pratyabhijñā Darsana, where the expression भगवती संविद् or its equivalents are of frequent occurrence* (Javasinha Suri speaks of प्रत्यभिज्ञा as भगवती in his Commentary on Nyaya Sāra, Vidy. Ed., p 266).

argument would appear to be this That चातुर्वित्त is acceptable in so far as it does not clash with our experience, but as soon as it happens to differ its validity is impugned (cf the view हृषीये विद्वान् प्रमाणय नापि॒). Of course in a sphere beyond human experience its validity stands undisputed. A curious doctrine this and is open to grave objections. But such seems to have been the position of the opponent here concerned.

* Cf Kāemarsa—

A. In Pratyabhijña Bidaya (Kashmir Series, Vol. III),

(a) सं न्तरमन्तरेन वर्तमानत्वात् तद्भित्तिभूतः । इता च वस्योच्चित्ति वरूपानुपात्तेः संविदेव भगवता 'मध्यम्' ।

P. 37¹³⁻¹⁵

(b) यदा तु उत्तमुक्तिभूमिष्य सर्वे न्तरमन्तरेन मध्यमूता सर्वे भगवती विकसति etc

P. 39¹²

(c) पराणीतस्या तिविदेव भगवती स्वतन्त्रा etc

P. 2⁶⁻⁷

(Note the use of the term न्तिष्ठाक in Yoga)

(d) विदेव भगवता स्वरूपात्तस्या

and B In Commentary on the Siva Sutras, called Vimuktini (Kashmir Series, Vol. I)

(a) यदा व्यारेका सर्वद इच्छायाकेष्टुव द्यूष्मेत्यर्थं विष वमन्तो

It is probable therefore that Tatparyacharya was a native of Kashmir

III—TRILOCHANA

Ratna Kirti (950 ?)* in his Apoha Siddhi ('Six Bud. Nj. Tracts, p. 13) and Ksanabhangasiddhi (ibid, pp. 58,70) quotes to refute the views of one Trilochana. No definite data are available to determine the identity of this author, except what appears from a study of the meaning of the

It may be mentioned by the way that the Sloka

सविद् भगवति देवा चूर्णनुभवेदिका ।
चतुर्विं चूर्णन्या चूर्णि चकारमान्त्रा ॥

ascribed by Gaurikanta to the text of Tarkabhāṣa in some recensions has a like significance. The characterisation of सविद् by the epithets भगवति and देवा is notable. Moreover, its description as the Supreme Witness (for such would be the meaning of चूर्णनुभवेदिका, lit. the witness of चूर्णन् and चूर्णि or of the whole mental life) rather than as a mere state of consciousness while bringing it close to the Vedāntic conception of भगवति, is a sure mark of its relation to the Trika philosophy of Kashmir.

*Dr. Vidyabbasa (Med. Ind. Logic, p. 140, footnote 2) makes the older Ratnakirti, a contemporary of Raja Vimala Chandra (650 A.D.)—the author of Apohasiddhi and Ksanabhangasiddhi. But the internal evidence of the works does not justify this view. How, for example, could a man of the 7th Century have quoted from an author (e.g. Vachaspati) who lived undoubtedly so late as 841 A.D. at the earliest? To avoid falling into this absurdity I prefer to take the author of Apohasiddhi &c. to be the younger Ratnakara Śānti (ibid, p. 140) in the University of Vikramashila. Ratnakara's time being 983 A.D. I have placed Ratnakirti in the middle of the 10th Century. [N.B. This is an indirect corroboration of the plea for an earlier date (than 976 A.D.) for Vachaspati Māra]

extracts given by Kātnī Kīrti, viz that he had been an established Vyāja writer before the 10th Century Mr H P Sastri (Preface to Six Bud Vy Tracts, p iii) identifies him with the teacher (विद्यागुरु) of the great Vāchaspati Miśra* and it is likely that he is right

IV—VĀCHASPATI MIŚRA

The greatest name in the history of Philosophy of this country is perhaps that of Trīlochanā's pupil Vāchaspati Miśra. His wide and deep erudition in all the branches of Indian Thought earned for him the rare distinction of being called सर्वत्रस्यतन्त्र (Master of all Sciences)—a distinction seldom grudged by his successors. It is difficult to glean anything from his numerous works in which traces of his personal predilections in any direction might be detected. His all round scholarship and sympathy with diverse ways of thinking makes such an attempt almost impossible.

While the Vedāntists claim him as their own saying that he had been in his previous existence the great Vārttika kāra Suresvara himself one of the direct disciples of Sāṅkara chārya Udayana pays homage to him rather as a great authority in Nyāya and comments on his work. So with Mīmāṃsā, Saṃkhya and Yōga—everywhere the stamp of his genius is unmistakeable.

Similarly it might appear that Vāchaspati was a Śāṅka in faith. His obeisance to Bhāva (Intro to Bhāmat, Verse 3 and to Nyāya Kāṇikā Verse 2) to Piṇḍikā (Tat Tīkā Intro Verse 1) and to Viśaketu (Intro to Tattvavaiśāḍī, Verse 1 Cf Tatparyā Tīkā p 513¹² 13), might be cited as an illustration of his belief. But his devotion to

* Both Udayana and Vardhamāna speak of Trīlochanā as Vāchaspati's Guru. And Vāchaspati himself says in the Tatparyātīkā

दिग्नेचद्युरुत्तमात्मानुगमना दुष्टे ।
प्यामान व्याप्तस्तु व्यारव्यात्मिरपादेषम् ॥

Vishnu* and to Ganesa is equally patent (See Intro. Verse 1 in Nyaya Kanikā and Verse 4 in the beginning of Bhāmati).

It appears from a reference to Udayanāchārya's Tātparyaparisuddhi that Vāchaspati's tutor was Trilocana†. But in the Introduction of Nyāya Kanikā, Verse 3, Vāchaspati thus says.

अङ्गानतिमिरशमन्तो परदमन्तो न्यायमञ्चर्ता रुचिराम ।
प्रसवित्रे प्रभवित्रे विद्यातरये नमो गुरवे ॥

Are we to understand this passage as containing an implied allusion to his Guru's work, Nyaya Mañjari?

Hall's remark (Bibliography, pp 5, 9, 21, cf Auf's Cat. Cat I, p 560, Ind. Off. Cat., p 719) that मार्त्तेष्टिलकस्वामी was the name of Vāchaspati's tutor was obviously due to a misinterpretation of the 4th Verse of the Introduction of the Bhāmati, viz

मार्त्तेष्टिलकस्वामीमहागणपतीन् वयम् ।
विश्वधन्यान् नमस्याम सर्वसिद्धिविधायिन ॥

Here Martanda, Tilakasvami and Mahāganapati are the names of three distinct gods. The belief that their worship ensures success is a very old one and is recorded in Smṛti literature (Cf Yājñī Sm 1 293, see also Bāla Sāstri's Ed. Bhāmati, p 1, f note 3) Martanda is doubtless the Sun and Mahāganapati the once famous god of that name (Ānandagīrī in his Sankaravijaya testifies to the existence in the days of Sankarāchārya of a sect of Gānapatyas worshipping महागणपति as the Supreme Self. See Chap XV, Bibl Ind.

*It is striking that though the descriptions of the Deity in the first benedictory verse of Nyāyakaṇṭha approaches to the definition of Īswara in Yoga Sutra it is as Visnu and not as Īswara or Śiva that the Deity is conceived.

†See also Mm. H P Sastri, Preface to "Six Bud Ny. Tracts" p. ii.

Ed, pp 106-110 For a description of Mahagāspati see Gopinath Rao's "Hindu Iconography", Vol I, Part I, pp 55-6)

From the two concluding verses (5 & 6) of the Bhāmatī* it would appear that Vāchaspāti undertook to compose this his greatest work during the reign, and perhaps at the request, of one Rāja Nīga. And it is just probable, considering the praises lavished upon this king, that he had been Vāchaspāti's own patron. But who was he? That he was not a mythical figure may be almost taken for granted. According to Vāchaspāti he was a king of a generous nature, accomplished in the Sastras and highly famed for his wonderful deeds. And it is further said that the deeds which he had performed with such remarkable ease (क्षीलामायद्यनिर्मित) were, not merely beyond the actual power of other kings who would seek to imitate him, but even above their comprehension (मनसापि दुष्कराणि). I have found a passage in the Bhāmatī which would seem to set in full light the meaning of the above. The hittis already

nibandha he himself assigns 898 (घस्वद्ग्रन्थसु) as the date of its composition, and though the era to which the number refers is left unmentioned it is likely that we have to take it standing for Vikrama Samvat, and not for Śakabda. The year would then correspond to 841 A D.*

Regarding the native place of Vāchaspati tradition and opinion of scholars are equally divided. From the evidence of a sloka found in the Introduction of Nyāya Sutroddhāra Mm H.P. Śāstri infers that he was an inhabitant of Mithilā. But this can hardly be accepted as a correct view. The author of Nyāya Sutroddhāra was Vāchaspati II and was not identical with the author of Bhāmati and other works.

Vāchaspati was a voluminous writer, mostly of commentaries. In Nyāya‡ two works have come down to us, of which

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There cannot be much uncertainty as to the age in which Vāchaspati Misra flourished. For in his Nyāyasuchi-

* नृपात्प्राप्ता मनसाप्रमाण्या भ्रष्टेष्प्रात्रेष्च चकार कोस्तिग् ।
काचाच्चरासारसुरितार्यसार्यं स्वय शास्त्रविचरण्यत्त्वं ॥
नरेष्वा यज्ञविनिवानुकारीयन्त्रित कर्तु न च पारथित ।
विस्मनु मद्दापे मदनीयकीर्तीं श्रीमन्नुगेऽकारे मया निरन्त्र ॥

† Cf Amalānanda in Vedanta Kalpataru (Viz. Ed., p 245). चाचापि या महीपतिमेंद्राचकार (Appaya dīksita in the Kalptaruparimala prefers the reading महाचकार । See Panonala, Viz. Ed., p. 406) तद्य नाम नृग इनि ।

nibandha he himself assigns 898 (८९८) as the date of its composition, and though the era to which the number refers is left unmentioned it is likely that we have to take it standing for Vikrama Samvat, and not for Śakabda. The year would then correspond to 841 A.D.*

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Vāchaspati was a voluminous writer, mostly of commentaries. In Nyāya two works have come down to us, of which

* Cf (i) Sular, *Introduzione allo studio Filosofia Indiaea*, p 58, (ii) Woods, *Yoga system of Patanjali* (H O. Series, Vol 17), *Introduction*, pp XXI-XXIII, (iii) Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* p 51 : (iv) Chakravarti, *J A S B*, 1915, pp 262,400. As opposed to the above I may set the view of Mm. H.P. Śāstri (Preface to Śāstri's Notices, Vol II, p. VI & "An Examination of the Nyāya Sutras" in *J A S B*, 1905, p 246) who is disposed to maintain the Bāka theory. With all respect for the Śāstriji's erudition in this field I beg to differ from him on this point, for the simple reason that Vāchaspati ought to be placed at a sufficiently long interval from Udayana (984 A.D.) to enable the latter to conceive of the idea of writing a Commentary upon his work.

† Śāstri's Notices, Vol II, No 118, p 98 (cf Preface XI).

‡ Vāchaspati has left his speculations almost on every orthodox school. I say almost, because no work has yet been found dealing exclusively with the Vaiśeṣika system in its alienated form. But though not discovered, such a work may be still existing. In Śākbya his *Tattva Kaumudi* has become a standard *treatise*, and

one is a mere booklet attempting to fix the number of Gotama's Sutras and their readings. It is known as *Nyaya*

Nyaya Kanika, a Commentary on Maṇḍana Miśra's *Vidhviveka*, is as good a tract in Mīmāṃsā as the Bhamati is uncontestedly in Vedānta. It is not a work on *Nyaya*, but on Mīmāṃsā, and it is a pity that a scholar like the late Mr. Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in his posthumous work on 'The History of Indian Logic' (p. 314) makes the curiously blundering statement 'Vachaspati Miśra's *Nyaya Kanika*, a work on logic is not now available.' The work was published in Bārares as early as the year 1907 A.D. and is even now available in print. The word *Nyaya* seems to have led Dr. Vidyabhusana to the belief that it was 'a work on logic', though it is well known that many celebrated Mīmāṃsā works have a similar designation. Cf. Madhavacharya's *Nyayaśāntiśāstarī*, Parthasarathi Miśra's *Nyayaśāntiśārī*, *Nyayaśāntiśāmī*, etc. *Tattvabindu* is a small original paper devoted to discussion of sound *Tattva Samikṣa* (Bhamati, Nir. Sāgar Ed., p. 996, Tat. Tika, p. 57) or *Brahmatattva Samikṣa* (Bhamati, Nir. Sāgar pp. 15, 466 & Tatparya Tika, p. 394) and *Brahma Siddhi* (*Nyaya* Kanika p. 80) are two other Vedāntic works, now lost, by Vachaspati, to which he himself makes passing references [Hall, p. 87, and Amalānanda (in *Vedānta Kalpataru*, Viz. Ed., p. 508) make *Tattva Samikṣa* a Commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi*.] Of all his works *Brahmasiddhi*, *Brahmatattva Samikṣa* & *Nyaya Kanika* (mentioned in Bhamati, p. 15, 406, 996, in *Tatparya Tika*, pp. 394, 395, 467, in *Tattva Vaiśaradī* under Sūt. 4, 14) seem to be the earliest, and *Tattvabindu* mentioned in Bhamati, p. 996, *Tattva Vaiśaradī* and Bhamati the latest. *Tatparya Tika* is earlier than *Tattvakaumudi* (cf. *Kaumudi* under *Kanika* 5), but later than the earliest group. From the expression 'तत्त्वसाराद्यग्रन्थं वैष्णवानिदेवं' in the Bhamati (concluding verse 2) it appears that

Sūchinibandha. The other is a commentary on Uddyotakara's Nyāya Vārtika known as Nyāya Vārtika Tātparya Tīkā. He is said (Buhler's Catalogue of Sk. MSS. in the Private Libraries of Gujarat etc. 4, p. 24) to have also written a Commentary on Nyāyatattvāloka, apparently an older treatise which is now lost.*

The Nyāyatattvāloka, noticed in the India Office Catalogue, pp. 610-611, was the work of the younger Vāchaspati Miśra, and not of the author of the Tātparya tīkā.

V.—JAYANTA

The determination of the time of Jayanta, the author of Nyāyamañjari does not seem to be beset with much difficulty.

Gangēśa's reference to him as जरन्त्रेयाधिक shows that in the latter's time he had been an established authority.

There does not seem to exist any positive evidence in confirmation of the alleged quotation by Jayanta from Vāchaspati Miśra's works.

(i) Mr. Chakravarti's statement (J.A.S.B., Sept. 1915, p.262, f. Note 1) that "Bhāmati is quoted as an authority in Nyāya Mañjari" is apparently founded on the foot note by Mm. Pandit Gangādharā Sāstri (Ny. Mañj., p.120) where the sloka—

* May it not be the same Nyāyatatna which Bhāsavajūa in Nyāyasara attributes to the authorship of his own Guru ?

Presumably the work had been of great merit and enjoyed a wide celebrity before the time of Vāchaspati Miśra, or he would not have undertaken to write out a Commentary upon it. And this would be perfectly in keeping with the encomiums bestowed upon it by Bhāsavajūa.

यत्नेनानुभितोऽप्यर्थं कुण्डलैरनुमारुभि ।
अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैरन्यथैर्वोपपद्यते ॥

is erroneously ascribed to Bhāmatī under Sutra 2111. The sloka as a matter of fact does not belong to Bhāmatī, where it is introduced as तदुक्तम्. It occurs originally in Bhartṛhari's Vakyapadīya, I 34

(b) Gangādhara (Preface to Ny. Mañj., p 1) says that in the sentence तदपि परिहृतमाचार्येऽर्जातं च संवद्धं च इत्पेक काल इति वदद्विष्टि. (Ny. Mañj., p 312¹²) the word आचार्येऽ is to be understood as a reference to Vāchaspāti Miśra whose Tatparyā Tīkā on Sutra 2132 contains the following statement. आपासम्बद्धस्य विद्यमातत्वं तत्र सत्यपि पृथग्गतिमर्थे नावपविनोऽस्ति जात. सम्बद्धस्वेत्पेकः कालः (p 267). Now, though the dictum जात &c found in Ny. Mañj. does really occur in Tatparyatīkā it may not have been the original pronouncement of Vāchaspāti. For in view of the practically insignificant interval between their periods of life* it is hard to believe that Jayanta should have spoken of Vāchaspāti in such term as आचार्येऽ at all. It is more probable that the dictum had been even then, as later (cf Upaskara on 123), a familiar one, and that the आचार्येऽ referred to by Jayanta, may have been an ancient authority

As for the personal history of Jayanta nothing more is known than what his son Abhūnanda has recorded in the Introduction of his Kādambanī Kathasāra. It is said there that Jayanta's 5th ancestor, named Śakti, had emigrated from Gauḍa and settled in Darvābhīsara, a country which Dr Buhler located on the frontiers of Kashmir (Ind. Ant., Vol

* Vāchaspāti lived in 841 A.D and Jayanta, being the great grandsoo of Śakti Svāmī the minister of king Muktapida Lalitaditya of Kashmir could not have been far removed from him in age. Possibly both were contemporaries, one older and the other younger

II. p. 102)*. The village of **Gaurātmulaka**, which Jayanta's grandfather Kalyāṇa Svāmī is said to have acquired in consequence of having performed a सोमवर्णी sacrifice, is mentioned as **Ghorātmulaka** in the **Rājatarangini**, VIII, 1861. According to Dr. Stein it was situated in the territory of Rājapuri within the boundaries of Dārvābhīsāra (**Kalhāṇa's** **Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir**, by Stein, Vol. II, pp. 144-5, foot note to verse 1861†.

* Dr. Stein makes it comprise "the whole tract" of the lower and middle hills lying between the **Vitastiā** and **Chandrabhāgā**" (See Stein's **Trans.**, Vol. I, p. 32, foot note to verse 180).

† अस्मद्विवाप्ते एव ग्रामकामः सामर्थ्यो गुरुकान् इ इतिसामिसमन्वयमेव गोरमूलकं प्राप्तमवाप्तः। Nyāya Manjari, p. 274. Dr. Stein has fallen into a twofold mistake here (i) in taking Abhīnaoda to be the author of Nyāyamanjari and (ii) in calling Jayanta's father by the name of Kānta. The second mistake, based on Bühler's false rendering (Ind. Ant. II, p. 104) evidently arose from a misunderstanding of the following verse of Kādambarī Kathāsāra:

चन्द्राधुर्द्यात्तरमात् परमधर्मदत्तम् । अत्राप्तं कुरुः कान्तश्चन्द्रो दुष्मोद्देशोऽनि
Here the meaning is plain enough. The word **Chandra** has to be taken in a double sense signifying the name of the son as well as the Moon. The epithet कान्त would be applicable to both the cases. That this interpretation is the right one would appear from the fact that Jayanta himself mentions Chāndra as his father in the end of Nyāya Manjari (p. 659¹⁶).

‡ A genealogy of Jayanta's family, constructed from the statements of his son, is appended below:

SAKTI (Gauja Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja Gotra)

MITRA

SAKTISVĀMIN, minister (प्रभु) of King Muktapūja (Lahitaditya) of the Karkota family. (See Raj. Tar., LV. 42).

KALYĀṇA SVĀMIN, a great Sacrificer and Yogi.

CHANDRA, a great Controversialist

JAYANTA.

king Sankaravarnan whom Jayanta describes as घम्तरद्धा and to whom he attributes (p. 271) the credit of having suppressed the नीलाम्बरमत् apparently a very obscene rite, cannot be identified with certainty. From Jayanta's words it would seem, as Col. Jacob has rightly guessed (J. R. A. S. 1911 p. 511) that the king was a Jain*.

Jayanta was known to his contemporaries as a वृत्तिकार (Ny. Manj. p. 659¹⁷ cf. Kadambati Kāthā Sāra, Introduction) or the author of a gloss on the Nyāya Sūtras of Gotama †. Probably Nyāya Mañjari is the gloss here referred to. Gunaratna in his Commentary on Śaṅkarsana Samuchchaya ascribes to Jayanta a Commentary on Nyāya Sāra, named Nyāya Kalika. It is not known whether this Commentary is now extant. Buhler notices a work of the same name by Jayanta in his Kashmir Report (Nos. 385-7, p. CXLV) ‡, but until its contents are examined it would be impossible to say anything as to its identity.

The style of Nyāya Mañjari deserves special mention. It is unique of its kind, racy, humorous, brilliant, with a poignancy that is almost biting in its pointedness. It is

* There was a king of this name in Kashmir, but the anachronism of his time (883-902 A.D.) and the fact of his being described by Kalhana as a wretched prince (V. Tarang) precludes the possibility of this identification.

† Cf. Rājāśekhara as Śaṅkarsana Samuchchaya, p. 10³.

‡ Cf. also Stein Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Jammu p. 148, No. 1,553. The opening benedictory sloka of this Commentary is the same as in Nyāya Mañjari (p. 1, verse 1) but the concluding verse runs thus

अवातरसनिःस्तम्भमिष्यत्तीरन् । न्याय य कलिकामात्र जयति पर्यट्टिष्यत ॥

It is likely, considering the meanings of the words अवातर and न्याय, that the former was a smaller work on the same subject (i.e. a gloss on the Nyāya Sūtras). However, this is only a conjecture.

§ Abhinanda thus describes the style of his father

सरसा सद्विद्युता प्रसादमध्या गिर । कामास्तातजयत्तद्य व्यतिर जगत् गुप्त ॥

wonderfully eloquent, sweeping everything before its tremendous rush the arguments of the *Laukikatikas* as mercilessly as those of the *Mimāṃsakas*. All through the work there runs a deep vein of religious earnestness & sense of personal conviction which renders its remarks on the views of the opponents so caustic and bitter. Thus for instance, we read on p 204—

ये त्वीश्वरं निरपवादद्वयमाण
सिद्धस्वकृपमपि नाभ्युपयन्ति मूढा ।
पापाय तै सह कषापि विनन्यमाना
जायते नूनमिति युक्तमतो विरन्तुम् ॥

Cf also on p 236—

मोमासका यश. पिवन्तु पयो ना ग्रिवन्तु बुद्धिजाड्यापनय-
नाय ग्राहीष्वतं या पिवन्तु चरस्तु पुष्पप्रणीत एव नात्र ध्रान्ति ।

The general Saiva Culture of Kashmir exercised a marked influence on Jayanta's personal creed. He was a Saiva through and through. In his discussion on theism he shows a decided bias towards the Kashmirian form of this faith. Like Bhāskaravajī and other Śivite philosophers he too conceives of the Divinity as Śiva (p 200¹¹⁻²⁵) and predicates of Him ३, rather than ३, of the ९ Virtuous pertaining to the Ātman. It is interesting to note that among these qualities, all eternal, we find both धर्म and सुख (besides the usual two, वैशान, इच्छा and रुति). He says—धर्मस्तु भूतानुग्रहयतो वस्तुस्वाभाव्याद् सवन् न वार्यते तस्य फलं परमार्थनिरपत्तिरेव । सुखं त्यस्य नियमेय नियान् इत्वेनागमात् प्रतीते (p 201²⁻¹⁴). Now in the mouth of a Nayayika this would appear to be a remarkable confession. For though strictly speaking धर्म is not denied to Ivara in the orthodox system (cf १) *Vartika*, Benares Ed—या धर्म इश्वर नासौ तप्रेभ्यर्थं करोति किन्तु प्रत्यात्मकृत्तीन् धर्मधर्मसन्तिचयनमु-गृदणाति (p 404³⁻⁶) it is admitted only as a matter of concession. Thus Lddyotakara expresses his own views—न चेश्वरे

धर्मोऽस्ति (Ny Vā, p 464⁶) and पतञ्जलि न युक्त्यामहे यथा तु द्विमत्तायामीश्वरस्य प्रमाणसद्भावो न चैवं धर्मोदिनित्यत्वे प्रमाणमस्ति &c (Ny Vā, p 464¹³⁻¹⁵) Vachaspati, too, says almost the same thing (See Tat Tika, p 420²¹⁻³) Similarly as regards the existence of नित्यसुख and its presence in Isvara (and with some, in the *multa atmanas* as well), the usual evidence of the Nyaya Vaisheshika is decidedly against it The following words of Udayana may serve as the pith of their arguments

नित्यं तु सुखं न सत्यं योग्यानुपलभ्मवाधितत्वात् ।
भूतिस्तत्र प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न । योग्यानुपलभ्मवाधिते तदनवकाशात्,
अवकाशे वा ग्रावस्थवनयुतेरपि तथाभावप्रसङ्गात् ।
[Ātmatattva viveka (Tarkapanchānana's Ed., p 95¹⁴⁻¹⁵)]*

VI — VYOMASIVACHĀRYA.

Vyoma Sivacharya, as the name indicates, seems to me to have been a Saiva Saint of the South. Though a high authority on Vaisheshika philosophy his name has practically been forgotten. Rajasekhara, in his commentary on the Nyaya Kandali (Nyaya Kandali pāñchikā), credits him with the authorship of a commentary named Vyomavati on Prasastapada's Padartha dharma Sangraha. This commentary was long believed to have been lost, but it has recently been recovered and a transcribed copy of it exists in the Government Sanskrit Library Benares, from which it appears that the work more than ordinarily deserved the renown which it once universally enjoyed. It is likely that the Acharya of whom Udayana speaks in the Kiranavali is no other than Vyomasiva, and that Sridhara also presumably made use of his predecessor's work in writing the Kandali.

Vyomasiva was the leader, at any rate a learned represen-

* Comparing the statements of Jayanta and Udayana it appears that their attitudes towards Āgama were quite distinct. In this regard in spite of slight differences Jayanta and Bhasarvajua side together.

tative of a distinct section of *Vaisesika* school and commanded a great influence on contemporary and subsequent thought. He accepted *Sabda* as a separate *pramana* and had no sympathy with the people who suggested that the *Vaisesika* did not admit the independence of verbal testimony as a valid source of knowledge. In regard to this view of his *Manibhadra* gives the following report in commenting on *Haribhadra's Saññarsana Samuchchaya* (Chowkh Ed, p 63) यद्यपि श्रोतृक्यशासने व्योमशिवाचार्यांकरितं नीणं प्रमाणानि, तथापि श्रीधरमतापेक्षया अत्र उभे एव निर्गदिते। It is clear from this that there was already a split in the school which was due perhaps to the interpretation of the true import of the *Sutra* (Vais) 9 3 3, and was not of comparatively recent occurrence. Among the advocates of dual *pramana* we find the names of scholars like *Sridhara*, *Sivāditya*, *Vallabhacharya* *Udayana* (), *Rājasekhara* (see his *Saññarsana Samuchchaya*, *Yāvajīya* Ed, verse 114, p 11) &c* And *Suresvaracharya*, in his *Nanāsollasa*, II 17 (Mys Ed, p 49), also subscribes to this view†. On the contrary, the interpretation of *Vyomasiva* is confirmed by the statements of *Sankaracharya* in the *Sarvāśiddhīntasañgraha* (V 33, p 22) and of *Jinadatta* in the *Viveka Vilasa* (Bhand Rep 1883-'84, p 462)‡.

The only other references to *Vyoma Siva* which I have hitherto found in Sanskrit philosophical literature occur in

* *Gau lapadacharya*, while commenting on *Sauṅkhya Kārikā* 4, plainly refers to the *Vaisesika* opinion as being in favour of the duality of *pramana* यद्यपि वैष्णवैके यद्दो नाभ्युपेष्वे तथापि ते न प्रमाणात् (Ben Ed, p 5)

† Cf. *Jayarajayaya's Sarvadarsana Saṅgraha* in the vernacular, p. 45

‡ वैष्णवैकं मदे तावत् नमाण्यनदयं भवत् । प्रदद्यन्ते नुमानं च तार्चीवैकमयागम (Vivekavilasa). In the शृङ्गरूपि to *Vaisesavasyakabhaṣya* (Ben. Ed p 666) the *Vaisesikas* are credited with the theory of three *pramāṇas* ३ । वैष्णवैकं प्रदद्यन्ते नुमानामुमकाणं प्रमाणप्रदद्यन्ते ।

Viduradasa's *Rasasara**, and Vallabha's *Nyayalakshmi* (Bomb Ed., p. 98)

VII — UDAYANACHARYA

The last great representative of the older schools of Nyaya and Vaisesika was beyond question Udayanacharya.

Jayanta and Vachaspati Misra wrote on Nyaya, while Sridhara wrote on Vaisesika, but the credit of combining for the first time the two allied systems into a joint form is, according to tradition, due to Udayana. And it was he who made the most pronounced effort to combat the anti-theistical tendencies of his age by bringing philosophy to the service of theology. His *Atmatattvaviveka* & *Nyaya Kusumojali*

* नेन एतमदत्तविषयविषयत्वे नति स्वाध्येनातीदृश्यवद्व्यक्तका विशेषयुग्म इति न्योनयिवाचायैक्यविकल्पाय प्रत्युक्तम् । स्वाध्यैरजाताधिष्ठेन नवान्तरमर्थादविकल्पात् (Rasasara, p. 11)

† For instance, in *Nyaya Kusumojali* which being an independent treatise afforded ample opportunities to the author for sufficient freedom of expression we find in several places the characteristic doctrines of Nyaya and Vaisesika fused up with one another. To take one example. The Vaisesika does not admit Upamana and Sabda to be separate pramanas but Udayana, in agreement with the orthodox Naiyayika's stand-point (Ibid III. 12 Beocares Ed. pp. 5-37 & pp. 57 etc), makes it a definite point to prove that their separate character cannot be gainsaid. But on the other hand while dealing with the question of Svapna or dream-consciousness he subscribes to the usual Vaisesika view of the point with some modification. Thus though the Naiyayika and the Vaisesika are both at one on the falsity of dream consciousness, the former considers it as a kind of *मृत्यु*, whereas the latter makes it fall under the category of *मृत्युभव* and so distinct from *मृत्यि*. Udayana agrees with the Vaisesika in so far as he maintains the presentative character of dream consciousness (अपास्तुभव व्यासोऽस्मीकरणः, Ny. Kusu, V. Beo Ed. p. 147) but differs from him in holding that even dreams may come occasionally true (प्रातः च सप्तास्तुभवत्यापि कृत्याचित् सत्यतः, रात्रादृतः, Ibid.)

are the best polemical treatises ever written with the wowed object of disposing of the Buddhist contentions against the doctrines of Ātmā and Iṣvara and of placing their truth on a firm and secure footing.

There is no doubt now as to the age of Udayanachārya. He lived in the fourth quarter of the 10th century as evidenced by the following sloka at the end of his *Lakṣaṇavālī*:

तर्कान्तराङ्कुप्रमितेष्टतीतेषु एकान्ततः ।
वर्त्तपूर्वदयनश्च सुयोधा लक्षणावलाम् ॥

This gives 106 Śakabda or 951 A.D. for the composition of *Lakṣaṇavālī* and as this was not probably his very last piece his period of life may be carried some more years forward.

Udayana was a contemporary of Śridhara but it is not possible with the resources now available to determine which of them was the older. His *Lakṣaṇavālī* was 7 years earlier than the *Kāṇḍa* but there seems to be reason to believe that his *Kāṇḍa* was a later work. Besides the case already cited by Pīndit Vindhyaśāstrī I. Rāmīl Dube (Preface to *Nyāya Kāṇḍa* p 21, f. note 5) where the view of Śridhara appears to be cited and refuted in the *Kāṇḍa*, there is one positive instance of a similar kind. Thus the view on तम् as the imposed blue colour which is associated with Śridhara's name (cf. Suryadharini *Su graha* & *Dinakarī*) is rejected in the *Kāṇḍa* (pp 19-20) and though the name of Śridhara is nowhere mentioned by Udayana it is nevertheless sure that his views were familiar to him. But Udayana did not live to complete the work thus initiated which broke off abruptly in its course with तुच्छप्रत्यय. I think that on the death of Udayana Śridhara still living, began to revise his book in the light of the criticisms made not failing however in his turn to cast a ring at Udayana whenever occasion permitted. This is my own suggestion.

and may be accepted as a tentative explanation of the otherwise quite unintelligible fact of both Udayana and Śridhara quoting and refuting each other's views*

Udayana was a Śāṅka and though professedly a Naiyayika he had the highest regard for Vedānta in its most rigorous and unfalsified form. His notion of Nyaya, too, was unique. His conception of the mutual relations of the various systems of Indian philosophy, orthodox and heterodox is extremely interesting. I am reminded here of the remarkable passage in the *Atmatattvaviveka* where he attempts to show that in its gradual ascent along the path of moksha the soul is confronted with views which broaden out more and more. The different schools of philosophy representing the varied views thus obtained in passing are conceived to form a graduated series, arranged according to an ascending scale of spiritual realisation, and in such a scheme the lower is always supposed to be a stepping stone to the higher and is to be *superseded* by it. Udayana's works may be thus tabulated.

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gotama's Sutras (न्यायपरिशिद्)

(b) Prasastapada's *Padarthadharmā Saṅgraha* (किरणी वडी) It was the last work of Udayana, and contains references to *Atmatattvaviveka* and *Nyayakusumānjali* (p 147)

(c) Vachaspati Misra's *Nyaya Vārtika* *tatparyatīkā* (न्यायवाचिकता, पर्यपरिशुद्धि or न्यायनिवेद्य)

* For Śridhara referring to Udayana's views, see Preface to *Nyaya Kandali* p 21 f note 3

† This attempt at Synthesis, though incidental, may be taken to be one of the earliest of its kind on record and though brief is matchless in its grandeur. Sarvajnatma Muni's earlier attempt (in *Sanāksepā Śāṅkara*) and Madhusudana's (in *Prasthanabhedā*) and Vijnanabhiṣku's (in his Introduction to *Saṅkhyā pravachara Bhāṣya*) later ones pale before it in comparison.

B (a) आत्मतत्त्वाविवेक (known also as धौद्वाधिकार or वौद्वाधिकार). This was probably one of his earliest works. It is a splendid production, and represents probably the most vigorous defence of the Theory of Self on behalf of Nyaya against the merciless assaults of the Buddhist philosophers.

(b) न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि, consisting of 5 chapters, partly in prose and partly in verse. It contains a reference to आत्मतत्त्वाविवेक.

(c) लक्षणावली* This is a very useful booklet, containing a series of definitions of terms pertaining to the Vaisesika philosophy. It was composed in 906 Śakahda or 984 A. D and was therefore earlier than the Kiranavali which succeeded the Nyāya Kandali written in 991 A. D. So I do not find any warrant for Mr Chikravarti's opinion (J A S B, Sept, 1915, p 263) that the Kiranavali preceded Lakṣaṇavali. The fact that the last sloka of Lakṣaṇavali is the same as the opening verse of the Kiranavali really proves nothing. For we might as well argue from this fact that the former was earlier than the latter.

(d) प्रधोपसिद्धि, an original treatise in Nyāya, probably compiled from Vatsyāya, Uddyotakara and Vāchaspati (cf T Rakṣ, p 308⁹⁻¹¹). Varadaraja refers to it four times in the Tarkikarakṣā (pp 189, 190, 308, 343 & 357), and though he does not attribute it to Udayana by name

* Mallinatha in his Commentary on Tarkikarakṣā makes Udayana the author of Lakṣaṇamala (pp 179⁹, 225¹⁸), but this seems to be a case of erroneous ascription. Lakṣaṇamala was the work of Śivaditya and not of Udayana. Probably the mistake arose from a confusion of Lakṣaṇamala with Udayana's Laksanavali. That Varadaraja does not refer to Udayana's work follows from the facts that once (p 179) he explicitly mentions Lakṣaṇamala by name as the source of his quotations and that in both the cases the statements cited do not occur in the Lakṣaṇavali.

there can be no doubt about Udayana's authorship of it* from the fact that Varadaraja once speaks of the author as Acharya (p. 308¹⁰ 11), a term generally reserved by the later Nayayikas for Udayana (and sometimes for Vāchaspati also) †

VIII.—SRIDHARA

As the author of Nyāya Kandali, a Commentary on Prasastapadī's Padarthadharmī Samgraha, Śridhara's reputation has come down to posterity. He was a great scholar, the list of that glorious hand whose depth of learning was commensurate with their range of studies. In Nyāya his fame is known to be well established. Later writers have always acknowledged his authority, and though some of his personal opinions, such as the view on तम् ‡, are rejected in the subsequent history of this philosophy, the eminence of his position in the world of Indian thinkers remains still unaffected by it.

* Cf. Intro to Tarkikarakṣa, p. 7, Aufsicht, Cat. Cat 1, 65 (here the name appears as श्रीष्टि सेन्द्र).

† For example, see Tarkikarakṣa, p. 139 13-14, where Varadaraja quotes Udayana's definition of Viśesa under the name of वाचार्द्व (Mallinatha makes वाचार्द्व = विशेषत्वका) Cf. Tarkikarakṣa, p. 107⁵⁻⁶ (विशेष एवं वाचार्द्व तु विशेषत्वाभ्युक्ते विशेषमाचार्द्व), p. 65³ (विशेषमाचार्द्वमत्तु विशेषाचार्द्व pp. 85⁶ 861-2, &c and also p. 77¹ (see Mallinatha's note).

‡ His view might appear to be outlandish to one accustomed to the usual way of thinking. To him तम् (darkness) is not mere अश्वर as with the orthodox Nayayika nor a kind of दूर्ज made up of atomic particles as with the Mimāmsaka, but it is the blue colour and is therefore a quality (cf. for a summary of the different views on darkness, Athalve, Tarkasangraha Notes, pp. 78-79) Śridhara thus sums up his own conclusion on the question : एम्बादु सपावेषाम् यथा रुद्रेजात्माद सर्वं सर्वाः सुमारपित्तरम् इति प्रत यत ।

Śridhara is fortunately one of those few writers in the history of India who have left some account of themselves. He says in the Nyāya Kandali, pp 330 331, that he was born in the village of Bhūrisr̥ṣṭi in Southern Rājha (=दक्षिणराजायां भूरिसृष्टिः) His parents' names are given as Baladeva and *Accoka* (or Ahhoka), and it appears that the Kāyastha gentleman named Pindudāsa, at whose request he undertook to write this Commentary, was his patron

Besides (a) न्यायकन्द ग्रीष्म which was composed in 913 Saka (इय्यधिक दयोच्चर नवशुतग्राकाव्द) or 991 A D Śridhara had also written—

(b) अद्वयसिद्धि, an original work in Vedānta (Kandali, p 5)

(c) सत्त्वप्रयोध, an original work in Mīmāṃsā (Kand., pp 82, 146), and

(d) सत्त्वसंचादिभी (Kand., p 82)

Mr Chakravarti notes (*loc. cit.*) that Śridhara's Nyāya Kandali was "little used in Bengal or Mithila. But this does not seem to me to have been exactly the case, at least so far as Mithila is concerned. For though undoubtedly it was not so widely read as Udayana's Kīraṇavāhi and was confined to the specialists alone, its studies continued for some centuries uninterrupted, and it was during these years of its flourishing condition that Commentaries used to be written upon it. Padmanahha wrote a Commentary upon it (*Nyāyakandalsara*) as he had done upon Udayana's parallel work, and looking at the

* सप्रहीका (Kand p 159), was not a Commentary on some tréatise named Samgraha (=Kanada Samgraha?), as is usually supposed, but it was the name of the Kandali itself. If we remember that the Kandali was the Commentary on the Padartha dharma Samgraha, we can make out the meaning of the term

† But in Kashmir, it would appear from Buhle's Report, it enjoyed a greater popularity

opening verse of this commentary it would seem that Vardhamāna and other earlier writers had also commented upon it.* With the evidence for these Commentaries, all by Māthilas, before us it would be hard to accept Mr. Chakravarti's statement regarding *Mithila* as true. But as to the fact of the general disuse of the book in Bengal there exists no ground for raising any question. It is really a mystery how a work written in Bengal, by a Bengali author and with real claims to appreciation should have gone out of fashion in the country of its birth. It seems to me equally inexplicable how this work, just like Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāya Śāra*, could find such vogue among the Jain logicians. Rāja Śekhara wrote a Commentary upon it (*Nyāya Kandalpañjikā*. See Peterson's Report 3.272) and refers to it in his *Śaddarsanasamuchchaya*. Guṇaratna, in his gloss on Haribhadra's *Śaddarsana* samuchchaya and Mallīcena in *Śyādvāda mañjari* (Yaśovijaya Ed., p 56) also refer to it, & so do many other Jaina writers.

IX.—SIVĀDITYA MĪTRA

The earliest reference of *Nyāyāchārya* † Sivāditya Mītra is found in Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍana Khāṇḍa Khāḍya* where the former's definition of *prama* is strongly denounced. Śrīharṣa's time being the 12th Century (M. Chakravarti, in J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 264), Sivāditya may be placed a century or more earlier.

* Thus in the sloka

अपदिष्टा गुरुचर्चेष्ट, रुद्धा वर्षम नापे,

कन्द्र्याः सारायांस्तत्त्वे प्रतिभेदः ॥

Intro. to Nyāya Kandali, p. 4.

[the expression अपदिष्टा वर्षम नापे: plainly implies the existence of Commentaries upon the work by Vardhamāna and other authors gone before.

† Sankara Mītra employs this epithet for Sivāditya's name in his Commentary on *Khaṇḍana Khāḍya* (Ben. Ed., p. 144)

He seems to have been the author of two original works, both in Vaisesika viz (a) सप्तपदार्थी and (b) लक्षणमाला (See Pratyakṣvarupa's Commentary on Chitsukhi, Nir Sagara Ed, p 180, and Sankara Miśra's Commentary on Khandaca, p 144)

Pandit Vindhyan Prasad Dube (Intro to Prasastapada Bhasya and Nyaya Kandali, Viz Series p 19, footnote 2) assumes the identity of this Sivaditya with Vyomasivacharya, the author of a Commentary on Prasastapada Bhasya. This assumption is not tenable. Probably this mis-identification proceeded from a confusion due to similarity of names and to an erroneous reading in one of the MSS of Saptapadarthi (cf Tailanga Rama Sastri's Ed of Saptapadarthi, Preface, p 1, and the Text p 80, footnote)

Mr Chakravarti (J A S B 1915, p 262) attributes to Sivaditya the credit of having added the Category of abhava to the sixfold group of the older writers. But this view cannot be accepted without some reservation. For if it is meant by what he says that Sivaditya was the earliest known philosopher who gave to abhava a place of importance in the discussion of Categories and that he was *not* its introducer the view may be pronounced probable. But if it implies, as it seems to do, that he *added* it as a fresh Category not hitherto recognised in the system, the error is apparent. The distinctive position of the Vaisesika in the order of Indian Systems would suffer a deadly shock with the disappearance of Abhava. It forms with Samavaya and Visesa, the keystone of the whole system. It is true that in the older works (e.g. Vai. Sut 1 1 4 Pras. Bha. p 6, cf. Sau. Sut 1 25 Kandali, p 331⁴) six categories are explicitly enounced, but it does not mean that abhava is not recognised as real. The reason why it is excluded from the usual formulation of the Categories, all positive, is thus stated by Sridhara.

अभावस्य पृथग्नुपदेशः भावपारतन्त्र्यात् त्वभावात् (Kandali, p. 7") 1. With the Vaisesika, (unlike the Sankhya), for whom प्रतीति (added to, but in a greater measure than, its counterpart व्यवहार) as an ultimate fact of consciousness given in the form of 'belief', is the determinant of objective reality, abhava is necessarily real. It was under a metaphysical, rather than a logical, necessity that abhava had to be postulated in this system. And the necessity thus felt was twofold, arising (a) from the fundamental assumption of the school that Moksha is really negative*, (b) and from its doctrine of असत्कार्यवाद which allows of a real negative judgment. To illustrate this point we may revert to the position of सत्कार्यवाद such as that of सांख्य or योग to see that a really negative predicate can have no place in its theory of predication. It being assumed here that everything exists everywhere, or one thing is identical with another ("जात्य-चुच्छेन सर्वं सर्वात्मकं" Vyasa's Com. on Yoga Sutra III-14.) all negation would be merely verbal (चैकलिपक). Let us take an example

(1) The judgment घटो नास्ति or more explicitly मृत्तिकायां घटो नास्ति would be a real judgment according to the Vaisesika and lend itself to a double interpretation—(i) it may mean that the jar, being not yet produced, does not exist in the Matter (मृत्तिका); this would be प्राप्तभाव; or (ii) it may mean that the jar, being destroyed, does not exist in the Matter (मृत्तिका); this would be वैसंस। But both these kinds of abhava are according to the Sankhya Yoga really two forms of bhava (there being no room for असत् in this system), the one known as the अनागतधर्म and the other as the

* According to the Vaisesika Moksha being conceived as an absence of qualities, a separate category other than positive was rendered necessary. This was named अभाव

(अतीतधर्म of the Matter मूर्त्तिका) Both are equally positive in content The judgment घटो नास्ति, therefore as in (i) and (ii), or more strictly मूर्त्तिका घटाभाववती, would be a pseudo judgment the true (of course relatively) judgment taking the form of मूर्त्तिका घट चती, even when the घट is not produced or is already destroyed In other words while in Sankhya Yoga अभाव is not allowed to be a real predicate or धर्म, in Nyaya Vaisesika it is It may be observed that the Vaisesika allows only what is called in Sankhya Yoga वर्तमानधर्म i. e आदित्यधर्म to be a positive predicate That is, घट may be a positive predicate of मूर्त्तिका or मूर्त्तिका may be said to be the आधार of घट, only after its production and before its destruction, in other words when it is वर्तमान। And for explaining this presence or वर्तमानता of the product in the Matter, the relation of समवाय has to be assumed But before the production and after the destruction घट is negatively predicable This is a fundamental difference between the two systems, resulting necessarily from the two assumptions of सत्त्वकार्य or असत्त्वकार्य। Naturally therefore the अतीत & अनागत घस्तु though admitted to be प्रमेय or object (विषय) of right knowledge are held in the Nyaya Vaisesika as असत् or non existing (but not तुच्छ or अवस्तु as the Buddha might say), i. e घंस and प्रागभाव are respectively predicable of them

(B) Similarly the judgment पटो घटो न where the identity of the objects घट and घट is denied would be a false judgment according to Sankhya Yoga Really पट being identical with घट (तदात्मक) there is no ground for such negation But since the Nyaya Vaisesika does not hold प्रकृतिकारण्याद or the doctrine of the Immanence and Unity of Matter of which the manifold (वैचित्र्य) given in experience is more or less (i. e graded) a manifestation, and

consequently is an advocate of absolute difference (अत्यन्तभेद) between one thing and another, it cannot do without what is technically called अन्योन्याभाव

(C) And so with अत्यन्ताभाव too. Everything being every where and so there being no possibility of any relation (संसर्ग) like संयोग or समवाय which implies the existence of two really distinct objects अत्यन्ताभाव is no more than a verbal fiction.

Briefly speaking then the प्रकृतिवाद of the Sankhya, of which सद्व्याकार्यवाद is an aspect leaves it no room for real अभाव (or सम्बद्ध) All predication is reduced to identification धर्म or logical subject i.e कारण (उपादान) is identical with धर्म or predicate i.e कार्य Matter (प्रकृति) is the subject in the last resort, and all else, viz the products (प्रकृति s), are its predicates. These predicates, all positive, are each threefold in character—अतीत अनागत & वर्तमान, this division being founded on the bare fact of succession given in the limited consciousness (वृत्त्यांसक इति) and not on the reality (स्वरूपत) in which all the predicates co-exist and are identical with the subject. That is to say, time itself being a product predicates appear within it as successive, but beyond it in Eternity—or in मूला प्रकृति, the predicates are already given as existing together and somehow inexplicably identical with it. This is तादात्म्य [From this it will be plain why Sankhya Yoga does not feel the necessity of admitting सामान्य and विशेष, both predicates, as distinct categories. And real difference being denied, it is easy to understand how the necessity of समवाय also is dispensed with]

The Vaishesika, on the other hand, with his assumption of real difference corresponding to and necessitated by the difference in प्रत्यय and व्यवहार was thrown upon the असद्व्याकार्यवाद

(which is, looked at from a slightly different standpoint the same thing as भारसमवाद & परमाणुवाद) which led him in logical course to maintain the reality of succession and with this of what are technically termed प्रागभाव & ध्वंस Their अन्योन्यभाव also follows naturally from the view of the reality of difference given in consciousness, viz घट is other than not घट e g पट This is in logical terms nothing but a combined statement of the principles of Identity and Contradiction, thus symbolically $A=A$, & $A=\text{not-not } A$ It seems to have been the outcome of a reaction against the extreme views of the Sāṅkhya on one hand with whom $A=B$ and of the Baudhāyana on the other with whom $A=\text{not } A$ A real समर्ग (संयोग and समवाय) being admitted, its absence led to the postulation of अत्यन्तभाव।

Without entering into further detail in this place it may be just said that the concept of abhava is so intimately bound up with this system as a whole that its denial would mean the overthrow of its distinctive character.

Then again in the actual texts of the older writers abhava is found recognised Cf Ny Sat 228 et seq, Nyaya Vartika, pp 278 280, 281-294 Tat Tika, pp 306-307 & Nyaya Manjari Even Kanada himself, though not mentioning it in his enumeration of the Categories (114), devotes some sūtras to a discussion of it in the 9th chapter Thus the absence of Kanada's mention of it by name in the उद्देशसूत्र is no proof against its recognition by him Vallabhacharya says— अभावस्य च ममानतन्वं सिद्धस्याप्रतिपिद्धस्य न्यायदर्शने मानसेन्द्रियतासिद्धिवदनापि अविरोधादभ्युपगमसिद्धात्मसिद्धवात्। Nyaya Lilavati, Nir, Sagara Ed

To this Sanlara Misra adds the following explanatory notes in his Nyaya Lilavati Krishnabharana (Ms belonging to the Benares Sanskrit Library) तेषु लक्षितलक्षणवात् (Corr reading लक्षितप्रलक्षितलक्षणवात्) इत्यादि सुन्त्रे

न्यायदर्शने एमानि तःक्षेत्रभावरय व्युत्पादितःवादत्र च तदप्रति-
वेद्यात् परमतमश्रितिवद्भुमतमिति न्यायेन स्त्रकृतम्भाभ्युप-
गमनोनयनात् । यथा गोतमेन मनस इद्युत्त्वं नोक्तमप्रतिवे-
धादभ्युपगतश्च ।

Fol 5 a²-6

I think it has now been demonstrated that there is no warrant for asserting, as Mr Chakravarti has done (loc. cit.), that Siv ditya “*आवा*” abh va “to the six categories of the older writers” * He simply explicated, giving to it the name of the 7th category, what had already been recognised in the system as a real Category.

X—VARADARĀJA

The exact time of Varadaraja's life is very hard of determination. Dr Venis places him in the interval between 1050 & 1300 A D or more definitely about the first half of the 12th century (Prefatory notice to Tarkikaraka, p. vii) Though a greater precision is not attainable on this matter in the present state of our knowledge, a word or two may be suggested here. Jñ napcra, whose time cannot be later than the 13th century and possibly was much earlier, alludes in the beginning of his commentary called Laghudiप का to Varadaraja as having lived long ago (पुरा). This would appear to furnish a plea for pushing back this date by some decades at any rate. And the constant references to Udayana in the Tarkikaraka seem to me to indicate, not merely

* Mr Chakravarti is equally wrong in his assertion (loc. cit., 262) made apparently on the authority of Kandali, p 331, that Sridhara “acknowledged only six categories”. As indicated in the line quoted from the Kandali on p 118 above this assertion is unfounded. Sridhara did acknowledge abhava (note the phrase न त्वमावान्) as a *real* category of existence. Compare also Kandali p 230, lines 3-23

that Varadaraja was his admirer but that he was his close successor as well. As a provisional step, therefore, I would prefer to claim for him as his approximate date the middle of the 11th Century*.

Varadaraja is known to have written only three works
A Commentaries on
(a) Udayana's

i न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलि (= योधनी), Mallinatha refers to it in his Commentary on the Tarkiharaka (p 46) पतञ्जल्यग्रन्थकृतैव स्पष्टेणकृतं न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिटोक्यामित्यात्तर्ण तावत् । Burnell (Tanjore Catalogue, p 123) notices a copy of this Commentary existing in the Palace Library of Tanjore, where the name of the author's father is given as Mahamahopādhyaya Rama deva Misra †

ii विरणावली (See Aufrecht, Cat Cat , I pp 107,550)
B तार्किकः चारि, sometimes called तर्ककारिणी, a treatise on Nyāya consisting of 160 Kankas distributed in three chapters (97+34+29) and of a Commentary named सारसंग्रह. The book is referred to in the Śrīadarśana Sangraha

* Mr Chakravarti's assertion (loc cit p. 26) that 'Vardhamana is the oldest Commentator known on Udayana's works' is thus found to be no longer tenable

† A Ms of this work, as far as Chap III was obtained by the present writer in 1916. It had been transferred in Śaka 1436 (1514 A D) and belonged to the private collection of Śaiva Vidyānidhana Kavindracarya Sarasvatī whose name appears in bold hand on the first and last leaves. It has since been added by the writer with a historical Introduction for the Sarasvati Bhavana Texts No 4 (Benares)

VI—VALLABHACHARYA

Vallabhacharya was one of the greatest authorities on Vaisesika philosophy next only to Udayanacharya, in the mediaeval period of its history. There are certain peculiar views associated with his name in subsequent literature, but as we have dealt with them at length in our forthcoming work on the history of Nyaya Vaisesika philosophy, there is no use reverting to them here.

He was the author of Nyayabhasavati, an independent * work on Vaisesika. This work has had the rare good fortune, viz. much like Gangesa's Tattva Chintamani, of finding a host of commentators.

Vallabha's nationality is not known. But his date may be assigned with tolerable certainty to the end of the 12th Century A D †.

VII—SASADHARA

It is believed that Sasadhara was one of the great Nyayikas of the pre Gangesa School and that in Gangesa's Tattva Chintamani there is a reference to his definition of Vyapti‡. As there is no mention of Gangesa or his successors in Sasadhara's work available to us there is no inherent improbability in the correctness of this belief.

* Nyayabhasavati is apparently an independent work, based on and planned after, Prasastapada's Bhasya. It is said that on this Vaisesika Bhasya there was a commentary by Sri Vatsa called Nyayabhasavati. If Sri Vatsa is held identical with Vallabha Nyayabhasavati will have to be considered as a commentary on the Bhasya, just as the Bhasya itself is on the Sutras.

† Vallabha is referred to in (a) Vidindra's Rasasara (about 1225 A D) and in (b) a Kannarese poem written by a poet under King Singhani of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri (about 1226 A D).

‡ Tradition identifies "Sishka (Lion) and 'Vigraha (Tiger) whose definitions of Vyapti have been quoted by Gangesa under

Sasadhara may therefore be placed between Udayana to whom he refers and Gaugesa, i.e. in the middle of the twelfth century.

He was the author of *Nyaya-siddhanta-dipa*, an excellent treatise on Nyaya *

VIII—VADINDRA

Mahadeva Sarvajna Vadindra was one of the greatest polemic writers in the field of Nyaya Vaisesika in mediaeval India and deserves to be ranked, so far as dialectical abilities are concerned, with Sri Hariv and similar other writers.

He is said to have been the pupil of one Yogivara. His name Vadindra is apparently due to his reputation among his contemporaries as a great controversialist, and we know that Chitsukha and other subsequent writers referred to him under this very name. His pupil Bhutta Raghava speaks very often, in his Commentary on Nyayasara, of his large following. Vadindra was a votary of Siva (cf. the benedictory verses of his works), and it is not unlikely that the words Sankara Kshetra as used in Madhava's Sarva-darsana-Sa-grahita (Anandisrama Ed., p 95) and Hura Kshetra is in the Colophon of the Mitha-

the-namit-śāstra-śāstra, with Sasadhara (or Sasadhara) and Mayidhara. It is not known whether this tradition has a historical basis, and if so, who these two persons really were. Dr Satis Chaitanya is inclined to believe that the names 'Lion' and 'Tiger' represent the Jain Logicians, Ananda Suri and Amarachandra Suri. See his Ind. Log., p 396.

* Aufrecht (Cat. Cat. I, p 63b) ascribes the following works to Vadindra (a) Nyaya-sa, (b) Nyaya-mimamsa-prakaraṇa, (c) Nyaya-ratnatraya, and (d) dasadharmala. That the last is a separate work is evident. According to the Ind. Off. Cat., p 649, (c) is another name of Nyaya-siddhanta-dipa itself, while in Burnell (p 119, i.e. Nyaya-sa) is the name of a Com. on Nyaya-Siddhanta-dipa by Dharmaraja Bhatta. Nyaya-sa and Nyaya-mimamsa too are probably not different works.

vidya vidambana are to be understood as meaning a 'devotee of Śiva rather than a 'pupil of the Acharya named Śankara or Hara. He describes himself in his work on the Mahāvidyā as the Dharmadhyakṣa of King Śri Simha, whom Mr M R Telang identifies with Rāja Śi ghāra of the Yādava dynasty of Devagir.

The manuscript of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava's Nyāyasaravichūra, which exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, is dated in Śakabda 1174 (= 1252 A D). * But Rāghava was the direct pupil of Vādīndra as he says expressly in his colophons as well as in the beginning of his commentary Vādīndra may therefore be placed in the early part of the 13th Century. This date synchronises well with the time of his patron, Rāja Śinghāra or Śri Simha.

Vādīndra was the author of the following works

(1) *Mahāvidyāvidambana*

It has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XII. It was perhaps the *magnum opus* of this gifted author and created quite a sensation in his time. His great controversialistic genius appears at its best in this work, where he attempts to prove the futility and defects of the so called Mahāvidyā syllogisms, which played an important part in the history of mediaeval Indian Logic.

(2) *Rasasari*

This is a Commentary on the Guna Kiranāvali of Udayana. It has been published in the Sarasvati Bhavana Sanskrit Texts of Benares (No 5).

(3) *Kaṇḍasutri mībandhat*

(4) A Commentary on Udayana's *Laksāñvṛiti*

Śeṇa Śāṅgadharī, in his Commentary, *Nyāyamuktāvali*,

* For a discussion of this date see under *Bhāṭṭa Rāghava*

† See M. R. Telang's Introduction to the *Mahāvidyā vidambana*, p. XVI.

मभ्युगस्य निर्विकल्पकजनकशरीरसंयोगपिकरणः ये सति याग-
जघमीजयज्ञस ज्ञातकाराविषयत्वे सति शरीर वानधिकरण-
मिन्द्रियमिति यथाश्रुतमेवैतद्व्याचक्षते (Ben. Ed., p 29). This
passage would seem to show that *Vādīśa* whom I take to be
identical with *Vādīndra* wrote a Commentary on *Lakṣaṇāvali*.
The name *Vādīndra* also occurs in the same Commentary (cf
p. 23), and the term *Vādīndra* being only an honorific title
there is no inherent difficulty in understanding the two names
as representing one person. It is much like शुद्धर्त्तकद्वार
being substituted by हरकिद्वार as already noted.

(5) A metrical philosophical treatise:

The name of this tract does not appear. But the
quotations under *Vādīndra*'s name as given in the *Sarva-
darśana Saṅgraha* and *Nyāyasāra-viśiṣṭā* being in verse it
seems likely that he was the author of a metrical tract.

XIV—BHATTA RAGHAVA.

Bhāṭṭa Raghava's Commentary on *Bhāsarvajña*'s *Nyāya
Sāra* (न्यायसारविचार) is the only work from his pen known
to philosophical bibliography, and though it does not seem to
have ever been widely used in later times its importance is
none the less very great. Apart from the fact that this book
furnishes a clear exposition of *Bhāsarvajña*'s doctrines which
it professes to defend from the attacks of opponents, it
contains a number of lengthy discussions relating to certain
topics raised in the text which are historically of great value
to a student of contemporary philosophy.

There exists a manuscript of this Commentary in the
Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (fols. 2—100), where
in the Colophon the date of its composition is given as 1174
Saka or 1252 A. D.*

* The verse in which the date appears runs thus,
यके चनुः पत्रानिसह्यक गनः यताधैः न्य रके च न्यायः ।

द्विषावित्तस्त्रव वभूत वदेष्व विचारः परिभाविता ॥

his Guru was Māthādevī Sarvajñā Vādīndra (See the Colophons at the end of each chapter fols 19¹⁷ b¹ 72a⁷ &

[The meaning of the last phrase is not clear but the reading is exactly as given above. There is no room for reading परिस्थिति राघव, as the late Mr. Satis Chandra (Introduction to Nyaya, p. 7) has done. After त्रि of अ ति the e is visible as a stroke, the consonant following having दिग्ब्रुद्धि and the last letter with which the next line begins is a न and not त so that the final word of the verse cannot be read राघव. The Ms. is generally free from slips and is carefully corrected.]

* Sarasga is said to have been defeated in a public controversy by the Jain Logician Jaya Sinha Suri (1266 A.D.), author of a commentary on Bhāskarācārya's Nyāya Sara, whose pupil Nyāyāchārī Suri describes this event in his Bhāskarācārya Sūtra (See F. M. Tropelin's Introduction, p. xviii) to Ananda Gupta's Tarkasangraha (Gakkwad's Oriental Series, No. III).

100b²)* ; this Vādīndra is probably identical with the author of the same name to whom *Rasasāra*, a Commentary on the second part of the *Kirāṇāvali*, is attributed (Hall, p. 67).

Rāghava was a Sāma (see fol. 19b, 72a b, 100b). His native country is not known for certain, but it seems likely that he was a man of the South. In his Commentary he quotes or refers to the earlier authorities as below.

खण्डनमरण्डनाः+...4b²,

वात्स्यायन मत 7a"

न्यायभाष्यकारः ८६४

मीमांसका । }
चार्चाकाः ॥ } ८५

भ्रूपण, भासर्वद्वा—11b⁴

चार्चिककृत्—12b⁶, 20a⁷

तथाचोक्तं— हीकिकी प्रनिभा यद्यत् &c— 16a³—+

तदुक्तं—एकेन त्रू प्रमाणेन ८८—१६a^१

तदाद्—पदि पडभि प्रनाणै स्यात्—16a°

(The above three quotations are from Kumārila's *Slokavārtika*, 4.32, 2.112 & 2.111, pp 143, 80 & 79 of the Chowkhamba Ed.)

तपुकं-न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो छोके &c — 18b³⁻⁴

* Cf. also the introductory verse in *Nyayasara vichara*:

महादेवमहवन्दे गुरु सर्वज्ञमादरात् । यन्यथान्यथु योगिल्ले शक्तिवहमादभूमम् ॥

Ind. Off Cat., p. 609,

& the verse at the end.

अकार्यम्यास पवाय मया ग्रन्थकलादिका। वादीन्द्रकृषि + + के मार्गेऽग्निवेश्या ॥

Benares Sk Coll Ms. fol 100b 5-6

† Is this *Khandana* *Mandana* identical with the work of *Paramānanda* existing in the Deccan College Library? (Cat. of Deccan College, p. 58).

(From Vākyapadīya, I 124)

यार्तिकार—18b⁴

केच्छ विचक्षण—19b²

(Apparently this is an ironical reference to an earlier Commentator on Nyāyasāra to whose interpretation Raghava takes serious objection. Thus in Bhāsarvajña's definition of anumāna—सम्यगविनामावेन परोक्षानुभवसाधनमनुमान—this unnamed annotator tries to establish a syntactical relation between the words सम्यक् and अनुभव which Raghava would not allow.)

Who is the Commentator meant here?

रामभट्टप्रभृतय. 19b³

Rāma Bhaṭṭa was another Commentator on Nyāyasāra whose name and work have been forgotten. In connection with the foregoing definition of anumāna Rāma Bhaṭṭa, as against the view already set forth, prefers to take सम्यक् in relation to the immediately succeeding word, on which Rāghava's criticism follows.

To be Continued.

THE MODERN PERIOD

The School of Mithila

I—GANGEŚA UPĀDHYĀYA

There is no man perhaps in the history of Nyaya Vaise
sika phdosophy more frequently heard of on the lips of scholars
than Gangeśa or Gangeśvara Upādhyaya of Mithila. He
gave to this philosophy a new line of development and
created for it a new field of work, and for practical
purposes, he may be said to have been the father of that form
of Nyāya Sāstra with which we are familiar to day. Essen
tially a keen dialectician and a brilliant controversialist, he
made it the sole end of his literary life to make Nyaya Sāstra a
Science of Debate. For this reason he devoted all his energies
and intellectual abilities to the task of expounding problems
of a methodological and epistemological character. The
Tattvāchintamāṇi which forms the noblest monument of
his genius deals almost exclusively with the Theory of Know
ledge and the kindred logical questions (प्रमाण), leaving very
little room for pure Metaphysics or Ontology. Even the
little theistic tract which has come down to us from his pen
is more strictly a work on Anumana Khandā, of which it
is expressly stated to form a part than an independent onto
logical piece.

It is usually believed that it was Gangeśa who for the
first time gave to pramāṇa a place of great importance in the
Science (& Art) of Debate and inaugurated its studies to the
exclusion of every thing else in the schools with a rigour
almost unprecedented in the history of modern philosophy.
And, further, to Gangeśa is universally ascribed the credit of
founding the Neo logic of Eastern India which with its militant
dialectics and spirit of analytical criticism has won its way

into every form of intellectual life in the country. That the first of these propositions is unfounded needs no pointing out. For what Gangeśa did for the orthodox system had already been accomplished by the Buddhist and Jain logicians who had preceded him. Dignāga's Pramāṇa samucchaya, Dharmakirti's Pramāṇa Vartika and Pramāṇa Vinischaya, Vidyānanda's Pramāṇa pāñkṣa & Deva Sun's Pramāṇa naya tattvaloka are some of the works on प्रमाण which Gangeśa had before him already in the field. But the second proposition may be accepted, for our notion of Neo logic is bound up with Tattvachintāmani and the series of Commentaries and subcommentaries upon it but even here it must be remembered that our restriction of 'naya' to Gangeśa is only of a practical value. In the Vidyāvāda section of Śabda Khanda (p 276, Bib Ed) Gangeśa himself refers to the views of Sondada Upadhyāya as those of a modern scholar (नव्यास्तु), thus shewing that the term had already been in vogue even before the days of Gangeśa. The word being only a relative term, it is intelligible why Udayana, Bhāsarvajñā before Gangeśa and Raghunatha, &c after him should have equally been characterised as modern. Nevertheless, in the sense in which we employ the word नव्याय at the present day it refers to Gangeśa and to him alone.

Gangeśa's date is not known with certainty. All that we know about it is that he quotes or refers to the views and statements of his predecessors some of whom he mentions by name. Of these Khandana Kara (i.e. Śri Harṣa, author of Khandana Khanda Khadya), Jatān Naiyayika (i.e. Jayanta, author of Nyāya Manjan), Maṇḍanachārya (author of Viḍu viveka) and Śivāditya (author of Saptapadarthi) are admittedly very early, being assigned to periods approximately known. But these render us no help in clearing up the date problem of Gangeśa. The dates of Ratnakośa and

Nyayalilavati, also quoted in *Tattvachintāmaṇi*, have not yet been ascertained, though we have found that the author of *Nyayalilavati* may tentatively be assigned to the 12th century A D. The only conclusion therefore which the premises justify us in drawing in the present state of our imperfect knowledge is that Gangeśa may be placed somewhere in the 13th century A D.

Regarding his personal history we have no authentic records. There are certain *Hoating* traditions which make him in his early life a blockhead whose ascent to greatness was absolutely an act of Divine Grace.

II VARDHAMANA

Gangeśa was succeeded in Mithilā by his son Vardhamana Upadhyaya who followed in the wake of his illustrious father and kept alive the fire of the New Science which the latter had kindled. In point of scholarship Varīhamana does not seem to have been in any way less than his great father, and the works which proceeded from him are still universally resorted to as of the highest authority in the subjects concerned. His style is elaborate, but free from verbosity and bathos. He is known to have been the author of the following works —

A Commentaries on

(a) Gotama's

1. Nyaya Sūtras (== अन्वीक्षातत्त्वचोद्धय or simply तत्त्वचोद्धय)

The work is of the nature of a gloss and seems to have treated of the whole text. The प्रमेयतत्त्वचोद्धय to which Ruchidattī and Jayarama refer as the work of Vardhamana

* A Ms of this rare work, dealing with the 5th chapter, exists in the Govt Sanskrit Library, Benares (New collection of 1917 18, Nyaya section Vestana 9). It is named there अन्वीक्षानदत्तत्वचोद्धय and not अन्वीक्षातत्त्वचोद्धय, but as Vardhamana himself refers to it under the second name in his *Guga Kirāṇavallprakāśa* we keep it unchanged here.

(Kusumanjali prakasa maharanda Ben Ed., p 5 of Chap 3, cf Aufrecht, Cat Cat I, p 554) and the प्रमाणतत्त्ववोध * also attributed to Vardhamana in Ruchidatta's Commentary on Tattvachintamaṇi (See *The Pāṇḍit*, Old series, VI, p 128) may be only sections of यान्विद्वातत्त्ववोध and no separate treatises

(b) Udayana's

- 1 Nyayakusumanjali Prakarana (= कुसुमाञ्जलि प्रकाश)
- 2 Kiraṇavali (= किरणावली प्रकाश)
- 3 Nyaya Vartika tatparyā parisudhī (= न्यायविवर्तन प्रकाश)
- 4 Nyaya parisista (= परिशिष्ट प्रकाश)

(c) Śribarṣa's

1 Khaṇḍana Khanda Khadja This work was utilised by Pragalbha in writing his own commentary on Śribarṣa's treatise Vachaspati II, in his Khandanoddharat, refers to Vardhamana's खण्डनफलिकोऽहार which may be identical with it

(d) Vallabha's

- 1 Nyayalavati (= लीलावती प्रकाश)

and (e) Gangeśa's

- 1 Tattvachintamaṇi (= चित्ताभाणि प्रकाश)

These are all the works of Vardhamana with which we are acquainted to day. But it is generally believed that Vardhamana also wrote a Commentary on Udayana's Atmatattva viveka, but the work has since been lost

We shall not be probably far in the wrong if we place Vardhamana in the first quarter of the 14th Century, but

* While explaining the meaning of the word भावक in Anumāna dīḍhītī-धया चावस्त्रेत भावक धया व्यवहार Bhavaṇauda (Bibl Ed p 12) identifies it with Pramāṇatattvabodha. May it not be Vardhamana's work of the same name?

there is no ground in Mr Chakravarti's assertion, repeated by Dr Vidyabhusana (Ind Logic p 455), that he is named by Madhavacharya in the Pāṇini-darsana section of his Sivadarśana-saṅgraha. The Vārdhamāna, also a Mahopādhyāya, whose name is mentioned in Mithila's work, was a grammarian being the author of Ga-varūti, Mahodadhi.

III—PAKSADHARA & LIAS JAYADEVA MISRA

For a long time after the death of Vārdhamāna there was no thinker in Mithila to preserve, far less to enrich, the new philosophy of the country. Supposing that our assumption of Vārdhamāna's date is practically right, we would find that during the long interval of over a century after his age Mithila was without any scholar with any pretension to philosophical renown.

By the third quarter of the 15th century was born Pakṣadhara alias Jayadeva Misra to whom we are indebted for the revival of interest in the study of Chintamāni. In plain truth Pakṣadhara was one of the greatest intellects that modern Mithila has ever produced. He was the nephew and pupil* of Hari Misra with whom he had read philosophy and whose memory he gratefully revered in the benedictory verse of his commentary on the Chintamāni पितृद्वयहरि-मिथोपदिष्ट ।

He was the author of commentaries on

(a) Śāśadhara's

1. Nyāya siddhāntadīpa. A Ms of this work exists in the Govt Sanskrit Library Benares.

(b) Gangeśa's

1. Tattvachintamāni (=चित्तमण्डयालोक) and

(c) Vārdhamāna's

*In the Navadvīpa mahāma p 31, he is described as the pupil of Yajnapati Upādhyāya.

i. Kiraṇāvaliprakāśa
and ii. Nyāyalilāvatiprakāśa (=लोलाधतीचिष्ठेक)

It may be of interest to note that in the Govt. Sanskrit Library Benares there is a Ms of a commentary, called Tippaṇī, on the Chintamaṇī by Pakṣadhara—which is different from the Aloka. It is dated Sam 1667.

From a survey of the contemporary literature it seems certain that on its first appearance the Aloka, which formed indeed the best product of Pakṣadhara's labour, created a great sensation in the world of letters of that time. It was read and taught, admired and criticised in every circle. All parties set themselves to write commentaries upon it. What this general stir was really due to we have no means of knowing. But it is probable that Pakṣadhara's new interpretation was mainly responsible for it.

From Gangeśa down to Pakṣadhara Navyanyāya had its sole home in Mithilā. The pandits of that place, who had made it their monopoly & been so long its trusted guardians, took especial care to see that this privilege of teaching the gāstra did not pass away from them into what they perhaps thought unworthy hands*. Students from various parts of India used to flock to Mithilā to draw inspiration from its far famed scholars, and when they completed their studies they returned home with the diploma which their Guru had

* This cautiousness was pushed to its utmost limit. Thus we are told that Ms of Nyāya works which existed in Mithilā, having been left there by their authors, were not allowed to be copied, lest they should be borne away and the prestige of Mithilā for ever destroyed. Students had to commit the texts to memory, and before returning home had to be very carefully examined by their teachers. It was in this way that the Kārikās of Kusumāñjali were brought to Bengal for the first time, according to tradition, by Haridasa Nyāyalankara (but according to Navadvīpa mahīma, pp. 35-36, by Vasudeva Sarvabhauma).

conferred upon them. This diploma was very highly prized, since to secure such a certificate from Mithila, the Centre of the current philosophical thought and activities, was not quite an easy affair. And if a man could once manage to win for himself a diploma of this kind his scholarship was recognised all over the country without a note of grudging criticism.

IV—VĀSUDEVA MĪŚRA

Paksadhara had many pupils of whom Vasudeva Mīśra, Ruchidatta and Bhagiratha Thikkura in Mithilā and Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, Raghunatha Śiromāṇi, &c in Bengal, were the most conspicuous.

Vasudeva Mīśra was Pakṣadbara's brother's son*. When Pakṣadbara's new interpretations were called in question and subjected to severe criticism it was he who came forward to vindicate his uncle's cause and establish his authority†. His commentary on the *Tattvachintāmani*, known as *न्यायसिद्धान्तसार*, refers to these overweening captious critics in these terms—

तर्कमधीते सर्वः कति न भयन्तीह परिष्ठितमन्या ।

वाचा विचारदक्षा विरला पुनरन्न विद्वांसः ॥

meaning that it is easier to be quibbling and casuistic than to command real wisdom.

V—RUCHIDATTA MĪŚRA

But the most widely known of Paksadhara's pupils was Ruchidatta, popularly called Bhaktu, a native of the village of *Sodarapura*. His parents were Devadatta and Renukā. He had two brothers named Śaktidatta and Matidatta. Among

* Cf the colophon : इतिकावायमिदान्तस रामश्वर्यपदधरामभ्रान्तपूत्रम्यापसिद्धान्तसारामभृ वासुदेवमिश्रविराचतादा चिन्ताम्य दीक्षादा &c

Ind Off, no. 786, pp 631-2 ——

† ज्येष्ठे गुरोवारीचे येकोचर्दोपदर्शिन । प्रवोपाय मदा तेषा दोसि भृंयोऽभिदोष्यते ॥

his works the following three commentaries only can so far be traced these are—

A. Commentaries on

(a) *Gangas*

i. *Tattvachintamani* (= चिन्तामणिप्रश्नार्थ), referred to in its several sections in (b—i). In this work he speaks of having read the *Sastras* with several Gurus

and (b) *Vardhamanis*

i. *Kusuma jali prakasa* (= कुसुमालीप्रकाश) This is a very useful work. Though not a running commentary and quite original it makes an honest and generally successful attempt to make *Vardhamanis* purport, often hidden and deep beneath the surface, intelligible to the reader

and ii. (Dravya) *Kiranavali prakasa* (= द्रव्यावलीप्रकाशविवृति)
Vale Peterson's Ulwar Catalogue No 606,
p 26 ext no 146, p 53

There is a Ms of this work in the Govt Sanskrit Library dated Samvat 1600 (= 1543 A.D.)

The time when *Ruchidatta* flourished may be approximately fixed on the following data

(a) There is a Ms of his *Maharanda* in the Government Sanskrit Library Benares (No 122) which bears the date 423 (आष्ट्विष्वानिगम) La Sun, corresponding to the year 1542 A.D. But as this is the date of transcription of the Ms the author may be set down to some time earlier still they (b) But the time of *Ruchidatta* is placed beyond all destroyable doubt by a look at the Ms of a copy of *Kiranavali* returning to himself in the year 386 = रसवसुहरनन्न (It was in the responding to the year 1505 A.D.) *

to Bengal for रसवसुहरनन्न चारक गुप्तपत्र,

Nyayalankara (but ... रसवसुहरनन्न चारक गुप्तपत्र,

Vasudeva, *Santoshnama*)

That this is the true date of Ruchidatta will become apparent when we shall find it synchronising with the age of his contemporary and fellow pupil Bhagiratha Thakkura. The date 1292 Saka (= 1370 A. D) which appears in a Ms of his *Chintāmaṇiprakāśa*, as reported by Peterson (Sixth Report, p 76, no 190), is therefore to be taken as a slip of the pen on the part of the scribe.

VI—RAGHUPATI

Raghupati was *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Ruchidatta's son. He was the author of a *Commentary on Tattvachintamani*, of which two MSS, one of the *Sahda Khanda* (शद्गमःगुरुर्चार्चा, dated Sam 1644=1587 A. D) and the other of the *Anumāna Khanda*, exist in the Govt Sanskrit Library, Benares.

VII—BHAGIRATHA THAKKURA

Bhagiratha *alias* Megha Thakkura of Mithilā was also Pakṣadharma's pupil, as already stated. He himself says that he had received his philosophical training under Jayadeva and distinguished himself as a scholar of some renown at the early age of 20*. His parents were Chandra-

वित्तु तुर्यावनीद रामय-र्णि त्युर्या-
मित्तद्वाद्यमक्षयाणः आदिच अ त्युर्येताम् ॥

(See V. P. Dube's *Introduction to Vaisesika darsana* with Kiraṇavali, p 28)

* Babu Rajendranath Ghose, in his valuable work on *Navya-Nyaya-Vyaptipanchaka* (Intro p 29), seems inclined to take the sentence विश्वास्त वदद्वयपरिषिद्वद्वैतद्वाद्य-त्युर्या-त्युर्यात्, occurring in Bhagiratha's commentary on *Dravyakiranavali* *prakāśa*, in the sense that Bhagiratha completed his studies of Jayadeva's works, at the age of 20. He understands क्षे. with 6th case ending and denies any relation between Jayadeva and Bhagiratha. But it appears to me that though on any construction the sentence would be a faulty one, it would nevertheless yield a better sense if we were to take क्षे. as with 5th case ending. Moreover, Mahesa Thakkura's time being ascertained on other

his works the following three commentaries only can so far be traced : these are—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gaugesā's

i. Tattvachintāmani (= चिन्तामणिप्रकाश), referred to, in its several sections, in (b—i). In this work he speaks of having read the Śāstras with several Gurus

and (b) Vardhamāna's

i. Kusumāñjali prakāśa (= ^०मकारन्द). This is a very useful work. Though not a running commentary and quite original it makes an honest and generally successful attempt to make Vardhamāna's purport, often hidden and deep beneath the surface, intelligible to the reader.

and ii. (Dravya) Kiranāvali prakāśa (= द्रव्यप्रकाशविकृति).

Vide Peterson's Ulwar Catalogue, No. 606, p. 26 ; ext. no. 146, p. 53.

There is a Ms of this work in the Govt. Sanskrit Library dated Samvat 1600 (= 1543 A. D.).

The time when Ruchidatta flourished may be approximately fixed on the following data:

(a) There is a Ms. of his Makaranda in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (No. 122) which bears the date 423 (अश्विपत्तनिगम) La Sam, corresponding to the year 1542 A. D. But as this is the date of transcription of the Ms. the author may be set down to some time earlier still.

(b) But the time of Ruchidatta is placed beyond all reasonable doubt by a look at the Ms. of a copy of Kiranāvali transcribed by himself in the year 386 = रसवसुहरनंद (La Sam corresponding to the year 1505 A. D.)*

That this is the true date of Ruchidatta will become apparent when we shall find it synchronising with the age of his contemporary and fellow pupil Bhagiratha Thakkura. The date 1292 Saka (=1370 A. D) which appears in a Ms of his Chintamani-prakasa, as reported by Peterson (Sixth Report, p 76, no 190), is therefore to be taken as a slip of the pen on the part of the scribe.

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विदु बुधावनार कारण नी शुष्टिः

म ज्ञानस्मशान्त श्रावण अ समेवः ॥

(See V. P. Dube's Introduction to Vaisesika-darshana with Kāraṇavālī, p 28)

* Babu Rajendranath Ghose in his valuable work on Navya Nyāya Vyāptipanchika (Intro p 29), seems inclined to take the sentence विद्युद्भूत्यद्वयाण्डतत्त्वं तद्वायाप्तं occurring in Bhagiratha's commentary on Dravyakiranavālī-prakāśa in the sense that Bhagiratha completed his studies of Jayadeva's works, at the age of 20. He understands कर्त with 6th case ending and denies any relation between Jayadeva and Bhagiratha. But it appears to me that though on any construction the sentence would be a faulty one, it would nevertheless yield a better sense if we were to take कर्त as with 5th case ending. Moreover, Mabesā Thakkura's time being ascertained on other

pati and Dhīrā, and Maheśa Thakkura, of whom we shall speak shortly, was his youngest brother. Among his other brothers we find the names of Mahādeva and Dāmodara mentioned in Maheśa's Darpana. Mahadeva was probably his elder brother and Damodara his immediately younger one *.

We know of the following works of Bhagiratha, viz. Commentaries on—

(a) *Vardhamāna*s

1. *Kiranāvaliprakāsa* (=किरणावलीप्रकाशभावप्रकाशिका)
Mss. of this work, dated Saka 1511 (शतिद्युन्न-
स्मरवाणच-द्र) or 1583 A.D. and Sam. 1654 or 1597
A.D. are in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.
- ii. *Nyāyakusumānjali* prakāsa (=कुसुमाञ्जलि प्रका-
शिका)†

and iii. *Nyāyallāvati* prakāsat (न्यायललिताधर्तप्रकाशिका)

All these commentaries are popularly known under the name of *Jatada*. Bhagiratha is called in a Ms. of his Com. on *Lilavati* (in Govt. Sk. Library) "Sankara Bhagiratha".

grounds also to be somewhere in the 16th century, the facts would square well if Bhagiratha were placed in the early part of that century and Jayadeva in the middle of the previous century. In Maheśa's time Āloka was a new work. Mr. Chakravarti's hypothesis regarding Bhagiratha and Maheśa's date (1400 A. D.) is not very convincing.

* जेहा महादेव भगरथ्यन्ते शामोदता यस्य वयोगुणाद्याम् । स दर्शण निर्मितात्मे वा उद्गादतो विश्वुपरा महशः ॥ (Anumānālokadarpana by Maheśa Thakkura), Hall (p. 66) and Pt. V. P. Dube (Introduction to Tāirkarakṣa, p. 24, f. note 1) are thus wrong in identifying Maheśa with his eldest brother Mahadeva. That Mahadeva was Bhagiratha's elder brother is clearly stated by the latter in his *Kusumāñjali* Prakāśikā: चासादनुपमः तोऽपि -होदिवः तुलायणी । अनुज्ञातव्य कृत्वा निमात्याहुशा ममीर्यः (Ms. belonging to Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares—fol. 126 a).

† Both these works are under edition and expected to be published very shortly from the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

VIII-MAHEŚA THAKKURA

Mahesa Thakkura was Bhagiratha's younger brother and founder of the present Raj family of Dārbh-ṅgā. He rose into prominence even more quickly than his brother. He was the author of an excellent commentary, called Darpaṇa, on Pakṣadhara's Chintāmāṇaloka, which displays his great acumen. One of the main objects of his writing this commentary seems to have been, as in the case of Vasudeva Miśra or Madhusūdana Thakkura, to reclaim Pakṣadhara's renown from hostile attacks. The phrase प्रमधितखलदर्प. as applied to himself in his Darpaṇa, is suggestive.

But it is strange that he did not prosecute his studies with the great Pakṣadhara whose name at that time must have been a household word in Mithila. His brother Bhagiratha had been Pakṣadhara's pupil. What stood in the way of Mahesa then that he was compelled to travel all the way over to Benares and study with a Deccani Paṇḍit—Rāmēsvāra Bhatta? It is hard to discover the true cause of this. But two alternative explanations may be suggested.

(a) Either that Pakṣadhara had been recently dead or even if living he must have been too old to hold regular classes,

(b) or that Mahesa's personal predilections for Vedāntic studies led him to come over to Kasi, which had been the principal seat of Vedic culture ever since the days of Śaṅkaracharya or even earlier, and seek instructions with a foreign though far famed scholar.

At any rate his stay in Benares and his pursuit of what I take to be Vedāntic studies had the natural effect of broadening his outlook. His attitude towards Vedānta became tolerant and even respectful, being free from those prejudices which

were a characteristic feature of a *Naiyāyika*'s mind. Thus in the light of what has been said above we are in a better position to understand the meaning of the following statement quoted from Maheśa's commentary (Anumana Section): तदेतत् संक्षेपेण वेदान्तिमत लिखित न द्विपितं श्रुतिपुराणस्मृतिंशु-
षुकुशिष्यत्वात्। This passage indicates a departure from the custom of the *Nyāya* writer and a leaning towards *Vedānta*.

Maheśa is known from expressions in his work to have been a *Vaiśnava* (चिष्णुपर) in faith, being an earnest votary of the *Balagopāla* form of *Sri Kṛṣṇa*.

The age of Maheśa may be fixed with tolerable certainty. It is well known that he obtained the kingdom of Darbhanga as a free gift from the then reigning ruler of Mithilā (the last descendant of Kameśa's family). As to when this grant was made Maheśa *Haraprasada Śāstri* assigns it to the early part of the 16th century, saying that the Charter was ratified by Sher Shah and Akbar. He further adds that a letter from Maheśa to Raghunatha (composed at Nadia in 1529 A.D.) is found in a Ms of *Vāvavata Siddhānta* deposited in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library.* Though this statement is contradicted by the date given for Maheśa's assumption of royalty in the well known inscription on well at Dhanukhā in Mithilā,† the difference between the two dates is insignificant, and it may be taken for certain that Maheśa belonged to the middle of the 16th Century.

Maheśa seemed to have reigned long. We know of a work named सर्वदेशवृत्तान्तसंग्रह which describes a part of Akbar's reign and was composed in his reign. It is attributed to Maheśa Thakkura.‡ If this Maheśa be identical with the author of *Darpana*, as is very likely, he was

* See Indian Antiquary, 1912, p.9

† See V. P. Dube's Intro. to *Tālikarakṣa*

‡ Aufrecht, Cat. Cat I, p. 701; Ind. Office, p. 1573

certainly contemporary with Akbar and therefore lived into a part of the latter half of the 16th Century, Akbar's reign having commenced in 1556 A.D.

X—JIVANĀTHA MĪŚRA

Jivanāthā was Sankara Mīśra's uncle, being the elder brother of Bhavanātha. No work by him has yet been discovered, but from the statement in the Upaskara (under Sutra 921), where his view on the definition of पक्ष * is quoted it appears that Jivanātha left some written works behind him.

XI—BHĀVANĀTHA MĪŚRA

Dr Gaṅgānātha Jha, in his Preface to the Vādīvinoda, p. 2, affirms, obviously on the strength of local tradition, that Bhavanātha, otherwise known as Bube Mīśra (also known under the nickname Ajāchi,) was a great scholar in various subjects etc. His works on Mīmāṃsa and Vyākaraṇa are available, but nothing is known about his Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika treatises, if he had written any.

XII—SĀNKARA MĪŚRA

Except perhaps the great Pakṣadhara, Sankara Mīśra had few equals in Mithilā since the days of Gaṅgesa. His influence and popularity were immense, and though he was primarily no more than a commentary writer, his services in the cause of the philosophy to which he owned allegiance were assuredly very great.

Regarding his personal history only a few fragments can be gathered. It is believed that he was born in the village of Sārisaba, not far from Darbhanga, where the goddess Siddhesvari enshrined by him is still in existence.

* उ पादसाध्यवत्त्वान् देविनवर्त्यम् यात्पात्रम् वृन्धकम् नवावान्दुन्नाभाव यत् स पक्ष इति जावनायमित्या । This last ma is also quoted by Sankara in his

† Preface to Dr Gaṅgānātha Jha's edition of Vādīvinoda, p. 2

He is said to have been a precocious child, and anecdotes illustrating his possession of wonderful gifts are still widely current*. The names of his parents appear as Bhavanātha and Bhavāṇi to whom he never fails to pay homage†. If we can place any reliance on Śaṅkara's personal testimony it must be owned that Bhavanātha had been a man of great erudition in almost all his works Śaṅkara acknowledges his deep indebtedness for his interpretation of the texts, especially in their knotty points, to the instructions received from his father ‡. It would seem from words used by Śaṅkara himself that he was taught by Bhavanātha formally who in his turn had been the pupil of his own elder brother Jīvarāṭha§.

Vādi Vinoda p 11 16-17, [32] seems to be a better reading than वदि which is accepted by Dr Jha] There is another reference to Jīvanātha in the Vādi Vinoda (p 61 21-22).

*Ibid, pp 34

That Sankara was a devoted Sāṅkara is proved by his benedictory verses (see the introductory verses of the Upas-kāra, of the Līlāvatī Kāṇṭhāḥharana, of the Kāṇṭadarahasyam, of the Vādīvinoda, of the Khaṇḍanaśikā, &c) and by his describing himself as भयाच्छेन निरतः (end of Vādīvinoda and of Upashāra). He was a voluminous writer, being the author of the following philosophical treatises :—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Kanāda's

i. Vaiśeṣika Sūtras (उपस्कार) Sankara's introductory verse (3) seems to imply that in interpreting the construction of the Sūtras he had no predecessors for his guidance or support. It was, he says, like the hazardous enterprise of a daring acrobat (खल) who attempts at walking in the mid-air on the nominal support of a piece of thread :

सूत्रमात्रावलम्बेन निरालम्बेऽपि गच्छतः ।

खेलवन्ममाप्यत्र सादसं सिद्धिमेष्यति ॥

Here the words सूत्रमात्रावलम्बेन and निरालम्बे would seem to suggest that in Sankara's time no direct gloss on the Sutras was extant.

रवभूतुर्जीवन् यस्य व्याख्यामास्यात्वान् माय ।

मात्पता भवनायो मा तापिद्वारित्युत्तमान् ॥ fol. 165b

The Śloka also occurs in the printed text of Sankara's Commentary on the Khaṇḍana Khaṇḍa Khādyā (Lazarus & Co. Benares, 1888, p. 732), where the name Jivanātha is replaced by Jayanatha; but it does not appear in the MS. No. 134, dated Sanivat 1529, belonging to the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. The statement, however, plainly shows that Sankara reproduced in his works, at any rate in the Commentary on the Līlāvatī, what had been dictated to him by his father according to the teaching of his uncle, and that consequently he should not be held directly responsible for the views therein expressed.

Now, if this suggestion were true what are we to say of the *Vṛtti* to which Śaṅkara himself makes such constant references (*Upaskāra*, under *Sutras* 1.1.2; 1.2.3, 6; 4.1.7; 9.2.13 &c)? Possibly to maintain his consistency we shall have to fall back on the only other alternative that the *Vṛtti* from which he quotes had not been, like the *Bhāṣya* itself, an immediate interpretation of the *Sūtras*.

The following authorities are referred to in the *Upaskāra*:

प्रशस्तदेवाचार्याः—	1.1.8, 4.1.2, 8.2.3, 9.2.8
प्रशस्तदेवपादाः—	9.2.6
प्रशस्ताचार्याः—	9.2.13, 10.1.1
प्रशस्तदेवाः—	9.1.10
वृत्तिकार—	1.2.3, 6.1.12, 9.2.8
वृत्तिकृत—	1.1.2. 1.2.6; 4.1.7, 7.1.3; 9.2.13; 10.1.3
उद्योतकराचार्याः—	1.2.5
श्याययार्तिक—	9.1.1
कीर्ति—(धर्मकीर्ति)	3.1.2
दिङ्गनाग—	8.1.2
भूषण—	7.2.1
कौतातिकाः—	7.2.20
पदार्थ प्रदेश, (?)—	9.2.6
श्रीधराचार्याः—	7.2.8
उदयनाचार्याः—	7.2.8
घङ्गमाचार्याः—	4.1.10

The *Upaskāra* appears to have been composed at Benares.
—Cf the sentence दद्यते चेह वाराणस्यां &c under Sūt. 7.1.22.

(b) *Fraśastapāda*'s

- 1. *Padārthaḍharmasamgraha* (कणादरहस्यम्), referred to in the *Upaskāra* (7.1.6.). It reads more like an independent treatise than a commentary, and had it not been for the

intimation by the author himself that it is a "Vyakhyā" * it would never have been possible to class it under commentaries. No *pratikas* from the original are given for the guidance of the reader and usually the order of the *Bhāṣya* too is not followed.

(*c*) *Udayana's*

- i* Atmatattvaviveka (आत्मतत्त्वविवेककल्पलता)
- ii* Nyāya Kusumāñjali (आमोद) † In the third introductory verse of this book the author refers to three previous commentaries, viz Makaranda, Prakāsa and Panmala‡

*See Kanada *rahasyam*, p 1 (Chow. Ed) • दृष्टुष्टमं नामान्य-
विशेषमस्तायाना पदार्थान तत्त्वशान नि वेदसहितरित प्रयातवादाधार्यमाध्यवाहयाऽचक्षेत
कथादरहस्य वाख्यास्यानः ।

†Aufrecht, Oxf Cat, p 243, No 601. Though the name of the Commentator does not occur here, there cannot be any question about Sankara's authorship of the work. The verse—*मदानीमन्तायाम्याय*
पितृभ्या प्रश्नमाध्यहस्— and the expression—*दोऽपि । १५तुः वाख्याः वाख्यातुमयमु-*
द्यम— prove the fact beyond any shadow of doubt. There is no ground therefore for attributing this Commentary to Ramabhadra Sarvabhauma (*Sub Voce*). The Ms of Amoda, which exists in the Govt. Sanskrit Library Benares (fols 1-116), calls itself in the colophon the work of Sankara Misra.

‡The verse runs

मकरन्दे प्रकाशे या वाख्या परिमेऽप्यवा ।
दोऽपि का पितृभ्यां वाख्यामाख्यातुमयमुद्यम ॥

(Mr Chakravarti's reading of the Sloka (J A S B, Sept., 1915, p. 281) is manifestly corrupt). Aufrecht's Latin interpretation of this stanza, as given in the oxford Catalogue, is hopelessly inaccurate. Putting aside for the moment the identity of Makaranda which might for aught we know appear to be the well known work by Ruchidatta (though there is every reason to question this

iii. *Trisūtrāibandha* (त्रिसूत्रीनियन्धव्याख्या). Sankara mentions here (Intro. Verse 2) the existence of three excellent commentaries on Udayana's *ibandha*, viz. *Prakāsa*, *Darpana* and *Uddyota* and adds that his own attempt is rather to bring out the plain meaning of the text. Thus we have प्रत्ययदर्शयोदयोत (not ग्रन् as in the Notices) त्रिसूत्राख्या कृतोऽवदः । तथापि वोऽनामात्मसुदिश्याऽऽनमोद्यम ॥

Sāstrī's Notices, III. No 136 pp. 88, 89. It is clear that the three Commentaries named in the above sloka were all on Udayana's *Trisūtrāibandha*—the work on which Sankara just proposes to comment. Of them *Prakāsa* is undoubtedly the *Nyāyanibandhaprakāsa* of *Vardhamāna*, but the remaining two are unknown. The identifications which Mr. Chakravarti (loc. cit., p. 269) suggests for these Commentaries will never hold (a) The *Prakāsa* can in no wise be supposed to be the work of *Ruchidatta*, (i) because *Ruchidatta* was a later writer (La. Sam 386 = 1505 A.D.) than Sankara Misra

any Commentary on the Nyāyanibandha. His Prakasa is a Commentary on Gangeśa's Tattva Chintamani, and *not on the Nyāyanibandha* to which Sankara alludes (b c). Similarly, the Darpana and the Uddyota could not have been the respective works of Maheśa Thakkura and Vahinipati, for the double reason (i) that they are not Commentaries on the Nyāyanibandha (but on Pukṣadbarī's Alola) and (ii) that both Maheśa (1548 A D) and Vahinipati (later than the date of Vasudeva Sarvabhūma) were Sankara Miśra's successors and not predecessors.

(d) *Sāhara's*

1. Khandana Khandī Khadya (आनदवद्धन) [A Ms. of this work (fols 1—118) on palmleaf and in early Bengali script, exists in the private library of a gentleman at Benares. It bears the date in Lakṣmaṇa Era 423 i.e. 1542 A D. The colophon runs thus इति भद्रामद्वोमिथथीशुद्ध
रठनग्रथमखण्ड सखडखाद्यानन्दवद्धनं समाप्त
मिति । द्वरनेत्रपक्षवेदैर्लद्भमणासमर्पते । शिवाचानि
रत स्वार्थं श्रीमान् यधरोऽश्लिखत् ।

(e) *Vallabhacharya's*

1. Nyayaklavati (न्यायलीलाचतीकस्ताभरणम्)

(f) *Gangeśa's*

1. Tattva Chintamani (चिन्तामणिमयूख) It is referred to in the Upaskara (3 1 14, 17, 3 2 18, 7 2 20, 26+) and the Vadivinoda, p. 59

B (a) गदिविनोद, an original treatise on the Science of Dialectics, referred to in the Upaskara (9 2 2)

(b) **भेदरत्नप्रकाश***. The main object of this book was to reclaim the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika dualism from the attacks of Vedānta. And as this could not possibly be accomplished without in the first instance overthrowing the position already gained by Śrīharṣa in the Schools the work turns out practically to be a refutation of Khaṇḍāna Khaṇḍa Khadya itself. Though Śaṅkara, by commenting on the Khaṇḍāna, appears to have been in sympathy with Vedānta, his real attitude towards it was always hostile.

Sankara's time may be thus calculated. There is a Ms. of his Commentary on the Khaṇḍāna Khaṇḍa Khadya in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares which

* This seems to me to have been the full designation of the work, which appears in R. L. Miua's Bikaner Catalogue (p. 539, Ms. No. 1148). It is also called simply Bhedaprakāśa, as by the author in the Vādīvinoda (p. 44) or as in Hall's Bibliographical Index (p. 85) or simply Bhedaraṇa as in Jha's Introduction to the Vādīvinoda (p. 4).

Aufrecht (Cat. Cat. I, p. 416) says that this book (Bheda-prakāśa) was "reproved in Sanksepa Śāstra 2, 1." ! Leaving aside the question how a book written in the 15th Century could have been noticed in a work decidedly several hundred years earlier, I cannot make out how Dr. Aufrecht discovered the name of a book at all in the sloka above referred to. The sloka is reproduced below :

एव समव्याप्तिरेत्याऽवदेषे,
जातिरुद्धर्वावप्यो ननु वावप्यन्यः ।
मानात्मेष एतिर्पीडित एव जाते
भेदरत्नाप्यननुवाकनिवृत्तेन ॥

Probably the phrase here underlined made Dr. Aufrecht suspect it to be the title of a book !! It is strange how Dr. Satis Chandra could have accepted this blunder in his *Indian Logic*, p. 459 !!

bears Samvat 1529 (=1472 A.D.) as the date of its transcription. Hall saw (p. 85) a copy of Bhedaprakāśa dated 1519 of the Vikrama Era (=1462 A.D.)*. This supplies the lower limit of Śankara's age. The other limit however may be taken to be the time of Vardhamana Upādhyāya whose Commentary on the Kusumāñjali is referred to in Śankara's own Commentary, Amoda. Thus it is highly probable, as Mr Chakravarti holds, that Śankara flourished about the second quarter of the 15th Century †. And this date of Śankara would be in full agreement with the tradition that he was a contemporary of Vāchaspāti Miśra II and Pakṣadhara Miśra‡.

* This Ms. is now deposited in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The date is thus eotered. ଶତ ୧୫୧୯ ସମୟେ ଚେତ ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଦିନେ ୧୫ ପୁଣ୍ୟମା ମହାନିତି । [It is significant that the oldest MSS of Śankara's works, so far brought to light, were both written at Benares— (a) the Khandanātika in the Benares Library in 1472 A.D. by one Vasudeva, a native of Bengal and (b) the Bhedaprakāśa in 1462 A.D. by one Kāyañtha Surya Dasa (see Stein, Jammu Catalogue, p. 328)?]

† Dr. Ganganatha Jha, in his Preface to the Vācīvindā, pp. 1-2, places Śankara about Samvat 1585. But in view of the positive evidence adduced above it is no longer possible to accept this date as true.

‡ Cf the verse

ରହୁଵାଚସ୍ପଦେ, ସମାନୀ ରହୁଵାଚସ୍ପତି ମହାତଃ ।
ପଦ୍ମପ୍ରତିଷଦୋ କାର୍ତ୍ତିଭୂତି ନ ଚ ବାରି ॥

(Quoted in the Preface to Khandanoddhara, p. 3.) Most probably the first two names Śankara and Vāchaspāti are to be understood as directly intended for Śankarachārya and Vāchaspāti Miśra, the great champions of Vedānta, and not merely for Śiva and Bṛhaspati, and the point of the saying would then consist in the popular estimate that as Śankarachārya and Vāchaspāti were masters of Vedānta, in the same way Śankara Miśra and Vāchaspāti II occupied a unique position in Nyāya-Vaisesika.

VII- VACHASPATI MISRA II

Sankara Misra's younger contemporary was Vachaspati Misra II. Vardhamana in his introduction to *Dandavneka* calls himself the pupil of these two scholars*, and according to tradition also Sankara Vachaspati and Pakshidhara were all contemporaries †.

Vachaspati was the Court Pandit of Rajas Bhairavendra alias Harinirvana Deva and his son Rupanirvana alias Ramabhadra Deva of Mithili and lived about the middle of the 11th Century. *

He wrote mainly on Hindu Law, but he was also a good *Naiyayika*. The following philosophical works attributed to him display closeness of reasoning and great original powers

A Commentaries on

(a) *Gautamis*i. *Nyaya Sutras* (= न्यायतत्त्वालोक)and (b) *Gangeas*i. *Fittachintamani*

B (a) *Nyayasutroddhara*. This booklet was intended to determine the number and true readings of the genuine *sutras* as distinguished from those which have been interpolated into the text from time to time. This work is therefore, in its object, of a similar nature with its predecessor, the *Nyaya Sachi nibandha* of Vachaspati Misra I. It

* Sankara Misra and Vachaspati Misra II (and Gantaka Misra) were the gurus of the Sankha Vardhamana the contemporary of R. Bhairavendra. Cf. *Dandavneka* As Soc. AS p. 1, verse 6 —

व्यावान् यज्ञान् यज्ञ रात्रान् यज्ञ न म गुणः ।

† रात्रान् यज्ञान् यज्ञ न यज्ञान् यज्ञः ।

द्वा यज्ञान् यज्ञ न यज्ञान् यज्ञः ॥

principal interest however consists in the fact that it represents the Maithila recension of the *Satrapaṭha*

(b) *Khaṇḍanoddhara* This is a rejoinder to the objections brought forward by Śribhara in his famous polemical treatise against the dualistic hypotheses of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* schools of thought. Though certainly the work does not rise up to the high level of Śribhara's masterpiece it is nevertheless an interesting study, as showing how cleverly the *Naiyāyika* brushes aside the charges of his opponents

We have seen above that Sankara Miśra too was a firm dualist and that his *Bhedaratnāprakāśa* was an attempt on the part of an advocate of realism made in defence of his realistic convictions. It was Śankara's no less than Vachaspati's religious instinct which impelled them to employ their pen against the authority of Śribhara's masterly treatise. The controversy on the Vedānta side was resumed at a later date by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī whose *Advaitaratnārakṣa* is a scholarly reply to Śankara's *Bhedaratna*. But Vachaspati's *Khaṇḍanoddhara* seems to have been left neglected by the Vedāntists

XIII — MADHUSŪDANA THAKKURA

It has been observed that the *Tattvachintāmāni* and more especially its Commentary, the *Āloka* by Pakṣipatiḥara, were very seriously attacked on their first appearance, and that in consequence of this it became the fashion of the commentators to take upon themselves, in addition to the usual work of interpretation, the further task of defending the text. Madhusūdana's claim to distinction, like that of the predecessor Viśudeva Miśra, rests on the successful

accomplishment of a self imposed task of a similar kind
In fact, his commentaries are all of the nature of defence

Madhusudana was a Mathila Brahmana. His age is still undetermined but I feel strongly inclined to place him in the last quarter of the 15th Century or in the first of the 16th. Having commented on Vachaspati II's *Dvaitanirnaya**, he must have been later than the middle of the 15th Century. But Mr Chakravarti's surmise that he lived in the third quarter of the 16th century (J A S B Sept 1915, p 271) is hardly tenable. His conclusion is apparently based upon the evidence of a Ms of *Kantikoddhara* transcribed in La Samvat 491, but this is of no weight as against the positive testimony of another Ms of the same work copied 32 years earlier in La Samvat 459 (See Mitra's Notices, No 1909, Vol V, p 225) or 1578 A D

His Nyaya works are commentaries on

(a) *Gangesas*

1 Tattvachintāmāṇi (करण्टकोद्धार) This is known through Burnell's entry only (Tanjore Catalogue, p 115 b), but is otherwise unknown. It is possible that on examination it will prove to be a commentary on the *Aloka*

& (b) *Pakṣadhara*s

1 Tattva Chintāmāṇīloka (करण्टकोद्धार or पक्ष-
परोद्धार as in Hall, p. 39) This is really his main

* This Commentary is known as वार्षदा. See Mitra's Notices, No 1853 (Vol V p 1.6) where the Colophon is thus given इति महामहोपाध्याय श्रीमद्बुद्धकाराम्बुद्धो विवरणकर्त्तव्यदार स८८ ।

† It may be pointed out here that there exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, a Ms of *Kantikoddhara* dated Samvat 1667 (-1600 A D)——a date which is practically identical

work, in which he describes himself as a master of Mimāṃsā and Nyāya (भाषांसन्ध्यापयपारगेत)*

It is probably to this work that Visvesvara Sūti refers in his Vyākaraṇa Siddhānta Sudhānudhi (Chowkh: Ed., pp 58, 69). The *Sabda Khanda* of his Commentary, of which a Ms. in two sub sections (marked here as *A* and *B*) exists in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, is found to contain the following references:

Section A :—

वर्धमानवचन 2 a ⁴	..5:	वर्धमानोपाद्याय वचन
अनुमान कण्ठकोद्धार (his own)		
प्राभाकराः 28b ⁴		
अर्द्धचीताः 34b ¹		
प्राचीताः 34 b ⁸		
थीफरमत 39 a ⁹		
किरणाचली (कालग्रन्थ) 42 b ⁹		
नव्याः 45 b ⁶ , 60 b ¹		
महार्णववद्यसेव्यरो 46 b ¹¹		
दुर्गटीका 58 a ¹		
महार्णव 58 b ¹¹ , 59 a ⁶		
हरदत्त 60 b ⁶ (The following verses are quoted from Haradatta)		

उक्तं च हरदत्तेन—

अनिदं प्रथमाः शब्दाः साधयः परिकोर्तिताः ।
 त एव शक्तिवैकल्यप्रमादालसतादिभेः ॥
 अन्यथा विवृताः पुंभिरपशब्दा उद्दैरिताः ।
 स्मारयन्तश्च ते साधूनर्थविहेतवः स्मृताः ॥

Section B —

कुसुमाक्षरालि 3b²नव्या 38 a³उपाध्यायः 38 a¹⁰, 48 a¹⁰ b¹

XIV.—DEVANATHA THAKKURA

Devanātha is known to have written a supplement (प्रतिप्रग) to Pakṣadharā's Aloka (including notes on the original text of Gāngesa). He was a Śāiva (See the Intro-
verses) and probably a pupil of Govinda*. A Ms. of this work,
as noticed by Mm Hara Prasada Śāstri (Notices, Vol. III, p.
74), was transcribed by one Rāghava at the instruction of the
author himself and bears the date in La Samvat 443 or 1562
A. D.t. Thus Devanātha's time falls in the middle of the
16th Century.

XV—GOPINATHA THAKKURA

He was the son of the Maithila Thakkura Mahāmabopādhyāya Bhayaṇātha of the Goghota family, and a Vaishnava
of the Bindāvana school of faith. He is known to have
written only two works on Nāya, viz.—

A. A Commentary on

(a) Kesiava Miśra's

‘ Tarkabhaśa ‘ तर्कसापाभावप्रकाशिका), in
which he quotes or alludes to the views of
मणिकृत—fols 7b¹¹, 20 a¹⁰, 22b¹², 23a³;
पक्षघरमिश्या—fols 7b¹⁴, 23a¹²;

* इ से ४४३ वेद वदि एका न्या चन्द्र नदीमहाठकुर मादनन्धमहाश्वानुग्रामकाद
राघवेन लिखितम् ।

^t Thus we read the 2nd introductory verse of the Commentary:

देवनायेन गोविन्दवरण्याश्चुक्तेविना ।

पित्तामयो वदाक्षोदे परिषेऽपुच्यते ॥

Who was this Govinda? Could he have been the well-known
author of Kāvya-pradīpa, a Commentary on the Kāvya-prakāśa?

रक्षकोषकारः—fol. 23b⁴;

मिथाः—fol. 23b⁶,

उपाध्यायाः—fol. 23a¹⁰(1)

and B (a) चिन्तामणिसार or simply मणिसार (2)

It contains an abstract of the exposition of the fundamental concepts of Chintāmani and may be held to be either a synoptic Commentary on the text or an independent work on the basis of it. Aufrecht is wrong in attributing it to Gopinatha Miśra (Cat. Cat. I 217), for the author of the Commentary on Tarkabhāṣa himself affirms that मणिसार is his own composition.

Cf. इति प्रतिपादितं (प्रपञ्चतं) मणिसारे—

—fol. 13a⁶, 13b⁶ ⁷, 14a³ ¹⁰, 29a¹ (Benares Sanskrit Library Ms.).

Gopinātha's time is later than Gaurikanta who refers to him in his Bhāvarthadipikā. He may have lived therefore in the 16th Century (end).

(1) The leaves are of the Benares Sanskrit Ms. Library.

(2) The Anumasa section of this work has been edited by Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. XXIV), 1914.

To be Continued

'Vairasenicharita,' 'Bhaimibhartybaritra,' &c., has one point common to them all, and that is the word 'chanta' or 'chantra', which defines the character of the work and classes it under a 'charita kavya' (biographic or historical poem). Or, if, on the strength of arguments to be adduced hereafter one questions, as one may, the authority of the concluding verses which, evidently, are no parts of the subject of the poem, we have another, an indisputable one, in the mention of the Naradha (meaning this same poem as is

काव्य चाहणि नैपर्यायचरित सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (IX)
 तक्षद्वसमभमस्य दशमस्तस्य व्यर्थस्तमहा-
 काव्ये चाहणि नैपर्यायचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (X)
 शङ्खारामृतर्दातगावयमादकादशस्तमहा-
 काव्ये चाहणि नैपर्यायचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XI)
 तस्य द्वादश पृष्ठ मातृच-ग्राम्भोऽज्ञालिमीर्षेहा-
 काव्येऽप्य व्यग्रलग्नद्वय चरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XII)
 स्वादूत्तराऽप्युति व्यांदशतयादेश्यस्तर्वीये महा-
 काव्येऽप्य व्यग्रलग्नद्वय चरिते सर्गो रसाम्भोऽनिधिः ॥ (XIII)
 यात्प्रस्तुत्य चतुर्दशः दावदिवभ्योत्त्वाच्छस्त्रेऽमहा-
 काव्ये चाहणि नैपर्यायचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XIV)
 यातः पञ्चदशः कृशेतस्तस्त्राद्याचिह्नायं महा-
 काव्ये तस्य कृतौ नलीयचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XV)
 काशमीर्मनेहितं चतुर्दशतर्वीयितां विद्विन्महा-
 काव्ये तद्भुवि नैपर्यायचरिते सर्गोऽज्ञामस्पोऽङ्गः ॥ (XVI)
 यातः सप्तदशः स्वद्वयः स्वद्वयिं चित्तव्यप्रदास्तेऽमहा-
 काव्ये तद्भुवि नैपर्यायचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XVII)
 यातोऽमिन् विष्वनक्तिसिन्दिमपिर्णासौभ्रात्रभव्ये महा-
 काव्ये तस्य कृतौ नलीयचरिते सर्गोऽयमष्टादशः ॥ (XVIII)
 एकामर्त्यजतो नक्षार्थग्रन्थमेलाद्यविक्रीयो महा-
 काव्ये तस्य कृतौ नलीयचरिते सर्गोऽयमपिमध्यात् ॥ (XIX)
 अन्याक्षुणग-सप्तमेऽभिजिती विगस्तर्वीये महा-
 काव्येऽप्य व्यग्रलग्नद्वय चरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XX)
 तस्यगात्रात्यमेवर्विग्रगग्नः दावाऽतिभव्ये कृतौ
 भयोऽप्युतिवर्णनमये सर्वो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XXI)
 द्वार्चिशो नमसाहमादक्षचरितं चम्पकृतोऽप्ये महा-
 काव्यं तस्य कृतौ नलीयचरिते सर्गो निसर्गोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ (XXII)

clear from the context) by this same term in the body of a second work by the same author, the Khaṇḍana-Khaṇḍa-Khaṇḍya (2). That, the two books—the Naṭṣadha and the Khaṇḍana—are by the same author is borne out by the use of the first person (अहम्) in the text of the Khaṇḍana referred to above, and the same indirect reference to Panini by दाक्षिण्यपुत्र in the Naṭṣadha (3) and by दाक्षिण्यदन in the Khaṇḍana (4), disregarding the concluding verse of the 6th canto (on the ground referred to above) and the concluding verse of the book as it stands (5) (on the ground of its falling under the same category with the concluding verses of the cantos, as will be fully discussed later on), though both of them, the former directly by its mention of the Khaṇḍana as another work by Śrīhanḍa and the latter indirectly by its recurrence at the end of the Khaṇḍana also,—point to the same common authorship. Thus, then, it is clear that the Naṭṣadha is a biographic poem. By a biographic poem we mean, and naturally, one that records, if not all, at least the leading events in the life of its hero or heroine. What of this kind do we find in the Naṭṣadha? There only one principal event—the wedlock with its preliminaries—occupying the early life of the hero exhausts the whole subject. The eventful after-

(2) तथाहमक्षयै नवपत्नीस्त्वय पारम्पुरुष्टुती श्वा— ch 1)

(3) दाक्षीपुत्रस्य रन्यं भुव्रमयमभवत् कोऽप्यपीती क्योत.

४४४ शब्दौपसिद्धिक्षत्तद्कटिर्विषयम् पुष्पानुयातः ।

सर्वं विष्वृत्य देवान् स्तृतिमुख्यमि गतां पोषयन् यो पुष्पज्ञा

प्राक् सम्बोरेण सम्प्रत्यपि भुवति दिः पद्मिकापाटन ॥ (XIX, 61)

(4) अन्यथा दाक्षीनन्दनार्दीरितवशामज्ञात्यभिग्रायां पापः प्राप्यमानः यानन्द-
स्पृशमवीधभिमानी भवानीहृत । ch 1)

(5) वास्त्रूप्यमासनं च लभते यः कान्त्युक्तज्ञेयगतः

यः सासारात् रुद्रे समापितु पर प्रदृश प्रमादाण्डयम् ।

पर्वत्य समुर्गति धर्मितपरामृत्यु यम्यात्ययः

पीर्धीर्पन्नेः दृग्मि एविमुद्रं वस्त्रम्भुवीषादित्यम् ॥

to which of these was the real Nala) had already begun his torment on the fair Damayanti (6). Here the poet has given a forecast of Kali's persecution on Nala. In XVI. 7 our poet in describing the knotting of the garments of the married couple says —The all Knowing Priest then knotted the garment of the Vidarbha princess with that of her beloved, communicating in the act, as it were, the infidelity of Nala who would afterwards cut off her garment and run away (7) Here we are told how Kali in the guise of a bird would divest Nala

life of Nala (as we deduce from the *Mahābhārata* on which our poet has drawn for his subject) has been completely ignored. Even the scriptural injunction which prescribes marriage for progeny (पुत्रार्थं क्रियते भाव्यते) has been disrespected. The Hindu scripture, which only cautiously assigns an equal place to conjugal sport (राते) with progeny (पुत्र) in the line (रातिपुत्रफला नारी) can hardly tolerate this outrage which allots the whole portion to राति and leaves none for the पुत्र. The poet's license has hardly a plea in the present case. For, however acute it may be, it cannot transgress the bounds of propriety. If close following of the original was never the intention of the poet, it was open to him to devise new events to give consistency to his poem. Silence is absolutely unwarranted. To suppose that no notable events characterised the life of the hero is grotesque in itself. Thus, it is the title itself that establishes the incompleteness of the poem, and the same has been amplified by numerous forecasts—mostly on the line of the original, the *Mahābhārata*—in the book. Consistency of these places would be at stake if a continuation of the *Naisadha* were not admitted. For, a poet's hero is an independent creation. To understand him we must resort to his own work, and no extraneous source. Even in a case of complete likeness in character between the hero of a poem and his prototype, it would be an unnatural procedure to understand one for the other. Hence, the *Naisadha* alone is competent for the solution of points raised in the *Naisadha*. The *Mahābhārata* is perfectly foreign in this matter. I shall now refer to those exact places where our poet has given forecasts of his hero's after-life. In XIII. 37 where Damayanti on seeing five persons of the appearance of Nala cannot come to a decision, the poet describes her then perplexity in the following terms—Nala's persecution by Kali was yet to come; but Dvāpara (i. e. the doubt as

to which of these was the real Nala) had already begun his torment on the fair Damayanti (6). Here the poet has given a forecast of Kali's persecution on Nala. In XVI. 37 our poet in describing the knotting of the garments of the married couple says —The all-knowing Priest then knotted the garment of the Vidachha princess with that of her beloved, communicating in the act, as it were, the infidelity of Nala who would afterwards cut off her garment and run away (7) Here we are told how Kali in the guise of a bird would divest Nala of his garment, and how Nala would clothe himself in a half piece cut off from the garments of Damayanti and abscond Again, in XVII. 14, in the poet's use of the term अक्षविनय (where अक्ष means both dice and the seuses) (8) we find an allusion to the fatal play at dice. But these are only covert allusions, and our poet has gone even farther. He has brought on the stage the root cause of all mischiefs—Kali, in person, made him pronounce his stern resolution—'I shall completely subjugate him, shall strip him of both his land and Damayanti' (9), set him on his journey for the execution of his resolve (10), escorted him to Nala's kingdom and to his capital (11), and

(6) कारिष्यते परिभवः कलिना नलस्य
तां द्वापरस्तु दुतनूमदुनोद्धुरस्वात् । (XIII.37)

(7) प्रियांशुकृष्णियनिषद्वात्सं तदा युतोया विष्वे विद्मजाम् ।
जगाद् विच्छिद्य परं प्रयाह्यतो नवादविधासमिषेप विभवित् ॥ (XVI.37)

(8) अद्वाकुराजिहानं ते स्मरमधेसर छात् ।
अभाविनयशिक्षायं कलिनेव पुरस्कृतम् ॥ (XVII.14)

(9) प्रतिक्षेप नले विज्ञाः कलेविज्ञायतां मम ।
तेन भैर्मो च भूमि च त्वाजयामि जयामि तम् ॥ (XVII.138)

(10) द्वापरैकपरीवारः कलिर्मत्सरमूर्च्छितः ।
नलनिशादिनों यानां जगाह यहिङ्किल ॥ (XVII.159)

(11) मण्डलं निषेन्द्रस्य चन्द्रस्येवामलं कलि ।
प्राप मङ्गापथितुं पाप. स्वर्मातुर्स्विं संप्रदात् ॥

life of Nala (as we deduce from the Mahābhārata on which our poet has drawn for his subject) has been completely ignored. Even the scriptural injunction which prescribes marriage for progeny (पुत्रार्थं क्रियते भाष्यो) has been disrespected. The Hindu scripture, which only cou teously assigns an equal place to conjugal sport (राति) with progeny (पुत्र) in the line (रातिपुत्रफला नारी) can hardly tolerate this outrage which allots the whole portion to राति and leaves none for the पुत्र. The poet's license has hardly a plea in the present case. For, however acute it may be, it cannot transgress the bounds of propriety. If close following of the original was never the intention of the poet, it was open to him to devise new events to give consistency to his poem. Silence is absolutely unwarranted. To suppose that no notable events characterised the life of the hero is grotesque in itself. Thus, it is the title itself that establishes the incompleteness of the poem, and the same has been amplified by numerous forecasts—mostly on the line of the original, the Mahābhārata—in the hook. Consistency of these places would be at stake if a continuation of the Naisadha were not admitted. For, a poet's hero is an independent creation. To understand him we must resort to his own work, and no extraneous source. Even in a case of complete likeness in character between the hero of a poem and his prototype, it would be an unnatural procedure to understand one for the other. Hence, the Naisadha alone is competent for the solution of points raised in the Naisadha. The Mahābhārata is perfectly foreign in this matter. I shall now refer to those exact places where our poet has given forecasts of his hero's after life. In XIII. 37 where Damayanti on seeing five persons of the appearance of Nala cannot come to a decision, the poet describes her then perplexity in the following terms—Nala's persecution by Kali was yet to come; but Dvāpara (i.e. the doubt as

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(6) कारिष्यते परिभव कलिना नष्टस्य

ता द्वापरस्तु उत्तन्मदुनोत् पुरस्वत् ॥ (VIII 37)

(7) प्रियाशुक्रप्रियनिषद्वासस वद्य उत्तेषा विष्पे विद्मजाम् ।

जगाद् विच्छिय पट प्रयास्यतो नवाद्विषासमियेय विष्वित् ॥ (XVI.37)

(8) अद्वाकुराजिहान ते स्मरमयेसर या ।

अधाविनयक्षिक्षाधं कलिनेव पुरुक्तम् ॥ (VIII 14)

(9) प्रतिष्प नडे विना कलेविज्ञायता मम ।

तेन भैर्मा च नूर्मि च त्वाद्या मि जपामि तम् ॥ (XVII.138)

(10) द्वापरैकरीगर, कलिर्मस्त्वमूर्जित ।

नलनिषारिणी या ना जगाह प्रद्विल किल ॥ (XVII 159)

(11) मण्डल गिष्पेन्द्रस्य चन्द्रस्येवामल कलि ।

प्राप म्तापयितु पाप स्वभातुरिव सप्तदार् ॥

having lodged him secure on a *huhitaka* tree in the garden adjoining his palace placed him an expectant for an opportunity for his persecution (12). With all this preparation, when the time comes for its fruition, the poet says a good-bye. How is this to be justified? In this connection let us also have a peep into the character of the boons which the gods respectively grant the couple. Indra gives his boon (to Nala)—‘For your residence a town will be built in your name near Benares on the other side of the Asi’ (13). Agni gives his (to Nala)—‘My energy which is conserved for cookery will be at your disposal (14). Yama gives his (also to Nala)—‘Even when badly situated, your mind will not swerve from virtue (15). Varuna gives his (also to Nala)—‘Water will become manifest wherever you will wish it, even though the place may happen to be a dry land’ (16); ‘also, by contact with your body, fading will not come over a flower and fragrance will be preserved’ (17). Their joint boon to Damayanti is—‘You are amazed to see how we cast off our disguise and resumed our native forms. You too by our grace will acquire the same power of assuming forms at pleasure’ (18). Now where, one may ask, is the consistency of this introduction of boons in the poem? The author of the *Mahabharata* has shown its denouement in the episode

कियतापि च कालेन कालः कलिरुपयितान् ।

भैरवाभर्तुरहस्यार्था राजधार्मा मर्द्दमुजः ॥ (XVII.161-2)

(12) तमादम्बनमासाच वैदम्भानिपियेदयोः ।

कलुणे कलिरन्विष्यन्नवर्त्साद् वत्सात् चहून् ॥ (XVII.217)

(13) तवोपचाराणसि नामचिद्देव वासाय पारेऽसि युरं पुराणितः । (XIV.74)

(14) या दात्पाकौपयिकी तनुमें भूशास्त्वदिच्छावशर्तिनी सा । (XIV.77)

(15) कृच्छ्रं गतस्थापि दग्धविपाक घर्माज्ज चेषः स्त्रजलतु त्वदीयम् । (XIV.81)

(16) यशाभिलाङ्गस्तव तत्र देशे नन्वस्तु धन्वन्तर्यपि तृणंर्मणः । (XIV.83)

(17) अस्तानिरामोदभरव्य दिव्यः पुष्पेषु भूयाद् भवदग्नसन्नात् । (XIV.85)

(18) कृष्णायमग्नाय नौ वपुर्विभ्रतस्त्वमसि वीक्ष्य विस्मितः ।

भाष्टुमाहृतिमतो मर्नापितां विषया हृदि तवाप्युदीयताम् ॥ (XIV.94)

of Damayanti's second Svayamvara. But nowhere in the character of either his hero or his heroine has the author of the Naisadha shown it in his poem. Should it be said that the reader of the Naisadha will supply the omission from the Mahābhārata, that cannot be, the two, as we have remarked before, being entirely distinct from the standpoint of each other. Even admitting for argument's sake, that such license is permissible, how are we to explain those cases where the author has deviated from the Mahabharata? The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable that the current Naisadha is incomplete. But here a question may arise that if the current Naisadha is incomplete how are we to explain the presence of the four verses appended at the end of the poem (19)? The plain answer to this is that the verses are spurious. Why we say so may be shown thus. First, one great discrepancy that staggers one at the outset in the verses is that the author has been designated in two of these (verses 1&3) by the first person, in one (verse 2) by suggestion, and in one (verse 4) by the direct mention of his name. Secondly, the style of the verses, if carefully examined, would strike one with the idea that they are not all of the same hand or of the same period. The stamp of a raw hand is also at places clearly manifest,

(19) (a) यथा यूनस्तद्वत्परमरमणीयापि रमणी

कुमाराणामन्त्त छणहरण नैव कुरते ।

मदुक्षिवेदन्तमद्यति छर्धाभूय छधिय

किमस्त नाम स्यादासतुरपा नादरभरै ॥

(b) दिशि दिशि गिरिश्चावाण स्त्रा वमन्तु सास्वर्ती

तुलयतु मिथस्त्वामा पातस्कुरुध्वनिड्वराम् ।

स परमपर क्षीरोदन्वान् यर्दीयमुदीयते

मधितुरमृतं संदच्छेदि प्रमोदन्मोदनम् ॥

(c) प्रन्धप्रन्धिरिह कचिन् कचिदपि न्यासि प्रयत्नान्मया

प्राज्ञमन्यमना हठन पटिती मारिमद् खल देवतु ।

अद्वापाद्वगुरुर्दर्थीकृ-दद्वन्धि समाप्त-

त्वेतत्काव्य सोमिमज्जनसुख्यासज्जन सज्जन ॥

(d) See footnote (4)

for example in the expression यज्ञ अग्नि in verse 1. Thirdly, from the tenor of verses 1 & 3 it would appear that the poem did not find favour with a certain class of readers and of the utterances which were probably the cause of this disfavour is it of explanation has been attempted in the verses. Let us look on the prompt, of a possible interpretation of his book will likely his own discourses tongue to turn the fan and thus into a reality I suppose, as such fact seems to be the secret of his mind his pen as in previously experienced in respect of other works of the author the usual is not fully justified. Hence it is probable that some successor writer—a admirer of our poet—mortified at the unmerited disparagement of his idol has disturbed his feeling in the above way. Fourthly extreme self conceit has found expression in the second verse. It soot is ungraceful when couched in the form of self approbation. Such self conceit has found expression in two other places also—the concluding verses of cantos 8 and 20—which also should therefore be construed in the same way as this. Fifthly, the fourth verse (as also the third) also appears at the end of the author's Khaṇḍa Jana—Khaṇḍa's khāḍya. Until therefore, from other works of the author, it is definitely known that the same has been the procedure invariably adopted by him, we may safely take it that this (as also the preceding) has its right place in the Khaṇḍana, having under the mistaken notion that the book had ended there, been subsequently appended to the Nāradha. The same remark in a slightly modified form applies also to the first two verses viz., those too had their right place elsewhere, and it seems likely, for in those too there is nothing to show that they are exclusively meant for the Nāradha. Or, the spuriousness of the fourth verse can be shown in another way also. The verse is autobiographic in character. In this and also in affinity of style, it ranks with the concluding verses of the cantos

About the concluding verses, in spite of their historical value, one feels constrained to believe that they are not genuine, or synchronous with the production of the *Naradha*. The following are our grounds for the above belief.---

(i) The monotonous repetition at the end of each canto like the recurrence of the drop scene after each act of a play is most repulsive, and yet not indispensable like that other. The concert of a new element here and there is far too weak to remove that repulsiveness. That the same master poet, who has evinced wonderful command over the realm of thought in his *Pancha-Nālī* (a set of verses popularly so called, being equally applicable to the real and the pseudo-Nālīs) and at several places to the same thought has presented a well devised variation of expressions, should exhibit such a poor stock of thoughts and expressions in the lexicon of his resources, is a thing hardly conceivable. (ii) In the concluding verse of Canto 16 which alludes to the appreciation of the poem by the scholars of Kashmir we meet with a discrepancy that hardly admits of a solution. The poem is yet in the embryo, for only sixteen cantos have been finished, yet there is the appreciation declaring the poem as an accomplished thing already. Even admitting, though such admission is prohibited by the third case ending in काश्मीर, that the *ashva* कृ signifies the present time, we are no safer. The whole Kāvya is not there, only a portion of it. If, again, on the precedence of the use in the Bhagwadgītā (I 9)—अन्ये च धृव. शूरा मदर्थं त्यक्तजीविता—we attempt to explain the *ashva* as expressive of future, we shall be landing ourselves on a fresh inconsistency. For, there the fate of the accounted heroes—though future—is as sure as the past. The same is not the case with the fate of the poem. For, the honour that claims record in a book is never an easy thing to gain. Chances of failure are quite possible. To seek

a solution in the supposition that the statement might be possible on the appreciation of the portion already finished would involve in the first place an error of expression, and in the second an error of judgment (iii) Both the Naṣadha and the Khaṇḍana have in each a reference to the other (vide the concluding verse of Canto 6 and footnote (2)) which is another way of saying that the same in one place is anterior and in another posterior with respect to the other Bhagavatāchārya, editor of the Khaṇḍana, not finding a solution of this riddle felt constrained to conclude the simultaneous production of the two books—a curious conclusion for a scholar on a book of philosophy We in plain terms shall simply class the concluding verse as spurious

The above conclusion in no way detracts from the historic importance of the concluding verses For, though no genuine products of the author, nor synchronous with the production of the Naṣadha, they may yet have been composed subsequently by his son, pupil, or any other responsible person

After such elaborate discussion no one will raise the question of bulk (I mean of the book) to disturb our conclusion Yet that too has a reply In the science of poetics there is no maximum limit prescribed for the number of cantos as none for the number of verses in each canto, and there even exists a poem named Haravijaya with as many as fifty cantos

If a continuation of the Naṣadha is admitted, we must either say that the sequel is lost, or that the poet could not finish the book But when we look into two facts it is well nigh clear that the book was finished one, the mention of the Naṣadha in the Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhaṇḍya (see footnote (2)), and the other, the appreciation of the Naṣadha by scholars in Kashmir (Vide the concluding verse of Canto 16) For, by the first, though the priority of the Naṣadha up only to the end of the 21st Canto (which forms the subject of

the psalm referred to there) is conclusively proved, yet it would be too much to suppose that the author could think of leaving his book unfinished at an advanced stage reaching up to the close of Canto 22 (up to which it is available) and beginning another so different in character and so stiff and bulky as the *Khaṇḍanakhanda*. As for the second, the appreciation of a *Matīlauja* is not possible when there is only a portion of it (viz 22 Cantos) there. For, besides poesy, it requires character sketch correlation of the parts, and many other things for consideration. Thus, therefore is our final conclusion that the sequel also was written, but is now lost, and this is probable too for, a good many of our poet's works—whose names we find—are lost to day.

In connection with the above conclusion of mine I may casually remark that, in my solicitude to learn whether tradition lent any support to my view I referred the matter to many of my friends and acquaintances, and, among them, to Pandit Ramagopal Smṛtibhu ḍā of Benares, whereupon the last gentleman emphatically supported my view and said that many years back he had witnessed with his own eyes a manuscript of the sequel in *Uṇia* character with an *Uṇia* pupil of his—named either Damodar or Rudranarayan (he did not recollect which). He also quoted two verses (one in full and the other in part) belooging, he said, to the same. The verses are —

(1) घदान्ति ये चम्द्रमसं सुयासं न पीयते तै किमु नायिकाधरम् ।

सुरापगामीर्य (१) पियज्जनेन र्हि रसचर (२) नारधिनोरमुच्यते॥

(2) ३सुद्धाद्वनपर्वताद्वतरद्वहेर द्वारायतो रोमालि व्रतिवद्यते ॥

The late revered Mahamahopadhyaya Rakhaladasa Nyāyaratna too is reported to have used to quote a half verse which, he said, belonged to the *Naiyadha*, but is not found in the twenty two cantos current of the poem. The half verse referred to is this —

सस्मार सस्मरमना प्रियदूतभूत तदामरालयमरालमरालकेशी ।

II

I now come to the second part of my treatise.

In the auto biographic verses (I mean the concluding verses of the cantos and the concluding verse of the poem as a whole) we find mention of the poet's parents, his works, his realisation of the Chintāmani mantra his honour at the court of the King of Kanouj, and many other things. But nowhere do we find any mention of his native country. Yet there are evidences in abundance in the book which go unmistakably to show that his native land was Bengal. Those evidences are presented one by one, before our readers.

The first evidence is the mention of the 'ululu' (a peculiar sound produced by the tongue, resorted to by women on festive occasions). The poet has introduced it in connection with the Svayamvara of Damayanti. The context is —When Damayanti offered to place the garland on the shoulders of Nala, the characteristic festive song, inarticulate with ecstasy, came out as the sound of 'ululu' from the mouth of the ladies of the harem (20). Now, every body knows that the 'ululu', though extended as a thing to Assam and Orissa as well, is, as a name, confined to Bengal alone. The same finds corroboration in Narayana's comment —'The name 'ululu' is used in Gauda for a class of festive songs indulged in on festive occasions like marriage &c.'—where Gauda in the opinions of the experts is Bengal. Mallinatha's interpretation of the term, though slightly diverging from Narayana's, viz he has termed it a custom of the north, also, when we view it from his own country—the south, points to the same conclusion, at least in part.

'20) कापि षमादास्तु निर्विद्वानवग्र या मङ्गलमीतिरासाम् ।

सेवानेभ्य तु एव राजा मुर्च्छात्तु च निर्वचन ॥ (IV 51)

(21) विद्वाद्युक्तं स्त्रीगा धवलादिमहाद्यनीतिविषेषो गौड़ेने 'ज़खल'

११ इत्युच्चपते । —Narayana

Experience also tells us that, excepting Assam, Bengal & Orissa, nowhere else in North India is this practice to be met with. There too, the union of the name and the thing, as observed above, is peculiar to Bengal alone.

The second evidence is the use of the conch bangle. This too as the writer has come to learn from his investigation, is characteristic of Bengal alone. 'The cooch bangle and vermillion' is a common saying for an unwidowed woman in Bengal. The connection in which it finds mention in the Naradha is this 'The bride's arms, united with auspicious conch bangles, appeared as if they were being attended upon by fresh grown lotus stalks for acquiring tenderness from them' (23). That this practice of wearing conch bangles is current only in Gauda or Bengal finds support also from Narayana whose words are—'गौडेशे विद्याद्वकाळे शङ्खचलय-धारण्यमाचार' (The wearing of conch bangles by the bride at marriage is a practice prevalent in Gauda). Just as the wearing of conch bangles characterises the beginning of married life, so does the breaking of them characterise the beginning of widowhood. The poet has referred to this second point also in connection with his description of a certain king (the king of Kanchi) who attended the Svayamvara, as follows—'Swans in the shape of his glories carrying off lotus stalks in the shape of conch bangles breaking on the hands of the youthful consorts of the rival heroes, sport in fountains of the tears of the same wives of his enemies (24).

(22) उन्नुरितश्वरु १३४ द्वपात्रम् उपाध्यायौ धर्मिविद्याय उत्सवादी स्त्रीभिर-
श्वरुत दत्तुनीच्यान्माचार ।—Mallinatha

(See V. P. Dube's Introduction to Vaishika Darshana with (Kiraṇavali 28))

(23) उगस्यमानाविव शिक्षितु ततो मृदुत्स्वमयोद्भूणालभालया ।
विरेजनुमाहुलिकन सङ्गतो भुजा त्या वलयेन कम्बुन ॥ (XV 45)

(24) अर समित्यम्मुखवार्योरुद्गुमुगा कम्बुमृणालहारिणा ।
द्विप्रहस्येगृहम्मुनिहर यसोमालाक्षिकिरिकास्य गेलति ॥ (XII. 35)

The third evidence is the tying of the hands of the bridegroom and the bride with a kuśa blade at marriage. This is no scriptural injunction, but a usage (25), prevalent in Bengal, and, so far as I have been able to learn from investigation, in Bengal only. The poet has introduced this in the Naisadha in the following connection — 'The hand of the bridegroom is a delighter in homicide (i.e. in war), while that of the bride is a stealer of the lustre of a lotus (being equally beautiful). Is it for this reason that in the well governed Vidarbha kingdom these two (a murderer and a thief) were bound with stiff kuśa ?' (26)

Now if, as we have seen, the three customs above alluded to are not found in the country (Vidarbha or Naisadha) in relation to which they have been introduced, are we justified in inferring that these are the customs of the poet's own country ? Nārayaṇa too in his comment on the 'ulalu' expressed the same opinion, namely, that the poet has alluded to the custom of his own country (स्वदेशरितिं कथिनेत्का !). If so, then think what that country should be. Should it not be the same country of Gauda or Bengal, where the three customs unite ?

Besides the three places indicated above, the poet has in many other places followed the customs of Bengal or his own country. Such are— (i) The painting of the floors and walls of a house with the pigment of rice powder on festive occasions (27) (ii) The wearing of a crest and the holding of a mirror by the bridegroom while starting on the marriage procession (28) (iii) The entrance of the married

(25) 'कुशो पाणिदन्तमै देशाचारौ ।' Narayana,

(26) परस्प पाणि परधातर्मौतुकी वपूक्ष एहमवशान्तितस्त्रकर ।

सुआङ्गि तौ तथ्र विद्यमण्डेन रतो निष्ठद्वौ किमु कद्दौ तुशो ॥ (XVI. 14)

(27) कथितश्चालेपनदान राजिता कमप्यैऽग्रामगात्मुखता । (XV, 12)

(28) भनर्यंत्नोघमयेन मण्डितो राज राजा मुकुटेन मूरेन । (XV 60)

couple into a room specially designed for the occasion, in which they are to pass the night in company with their friends (29) (iv) Niceties of fish and flesh in marriage feast (XVI 76, 81, 82, 87) &c These customs, individually speaking, are more or less to be found in other parts of India as well, but collectively they are the specialties of Bengal alone. The nicety of fish and flesh is a notable feature of Bengal. Excepting Kishmîr, nowhere else in India does a fish meal constitute a prominent part of a banquet like Baagal. 'Fish and rice' is a by-word with the Bengali, and the same has its exact counterpart in our poet's 'शशमीन' (XIV 78) Again, vermillion is a close associate of the hair parting of a married woman (whose husband is living) in Bengal, and our poet's predilection for this custom of Bengal has led him to introduce the thing even in Vidarbha where saffron is current. In the act he has not sacrificed consistency, having shown it not in the gynaecium of Vidarbha itself, but in the bevy of the royal consorts who had been invited to the wedding. The connection is this — When the royal consorts who had come to attend the nuptials bowed at the feet of Damayanti with the express intention of winning her intercession against chances of widowhood at the hands of Nala, the lac of her feet appeared on their heads like auspicious vermillion for the longevity of their husbands (30) That saffron is current or profusely used in Vidarbha may be gathered from our poet's own words. In one place he says—"where the large tank infused with the saffron

पने समस्तापयनावलन्दिना विभूयगाना मणिमण्डल नल ॥

स्वरूपस्त्रामवलाक्य दिन्दलीचमार सेवाचगदर्पणापेगम् ॥ (XV 70)

(29) स कौतुकागारमगार पुरन्दिनि सहजरन्ध्रीहृवर्मीकिर्तु तत ॥ (XVI, 46)

(30) नष्टात्स्वयैषस्त्यमवानुमान वृषद्वियो भाममहोत्सवागत ।

तदृश्मिलाक्षामदधन्त मद्भुत तिर ए सिन्धूमिन द्रियापुरे ॥ (XX. 55)

coming from the beautiful ladies while bathing does not, like an unspassèd woman clear up by the whole night' (31) In another—where at every sunset the saffron shops shone like the rays of the sunk down sun having tarried on earth (32)

With regard to the above customs one may urge that there is no knowing that they were current in Bengal even at the time of our poet To this our answer is that the customs of a family or of a country do not change easily Their authority is higher than even that of the scriptures For illustration look at the history of the present age and you will see how in the midst of innumerable adverse circumstances the ancient beliefs are still clinging to the people's mind While the assembly hall is resonant with the cheers of equality, the seraglio is carefully guarding its own individuality The predominance of local customs finds support in Sriharṣa too The following extract from Narayana's commentary will bear testimony to this—अत्र कचित् कचिद् यिधिकमभद्रो देशः चाराच्छाद्याद्याभेदाद्युक्ताचारविशेषाद् वा वोद्धर्वय । न पुन श्रीहर्षकघेरह्यानलेश्वोऽपि । (Wherever in this marriage concern scriptural injunctions will be seen to have been violated, this should be explained as having been done out of regard for usage (of the family or the country) or revelation In no way is it a mark of the ignorance of the poet Sriharṣa) From this sume we are also to conclude that the customs of other countries too were very nearly the same at the time of our author as they are to day

Here a question may arise that, if the customs were the same even before, how are we to justify the two Vedic uses

(31) दृष्टीजनमज्जनार्पितर्षुसृग्यंत्र कथायिताशया ।

‘ न निशाखिलयापि वा पिक्का प्रसाराद् ग्रहिण्य मानितो ॥ (II 77)

(32) रुचयोऽस्तमितस्य भास्त्रत स्वलिता यत्र निशालया किल ।

‘ अनुसायमभुविलेपवापणकाश्मीरजपण्यर्द्धाथ्य ॥ (II 90)

‘उलुलय’ (with its variant ‘उलुलुलय’) (33) and उलूलवः (34)? For these undoubtedly are the prototypes of our modern ‘उलुलु’ and as such they prove, along with its antiquity its diffusiveness also. Apart from the Vedic uses in a comparatively modern poem too we find reference to the ulalu (35). The author is a Gujarati which means that the custom was in vogue in Gujrat as well in ancient times. As for the conch bangle too, from its reference in the Mahabharata (36), as also in the Kadambui (37) it is well nigh clear that the practice was in vogue in other countries as well and not confined to Bengal.

In reply, we should take the cases individually. With regard to the two Vedic uses ‘उलुलय’ (with its variant ‘उलुलुलय’) and उलूलवः we should first consider whether they conform to our ulalu. For, simply because there is sameness in expression, we are not necessarily to conclude that there is sameness in meaning as well. The same word very often

(33) उद्गवर्णना मवन् वाजिनान्युद्ग गाराणा जयतामप धाप ।

पृथग धोपा उलुलय कतुमन्त उदीरता

देवा इन्द्रजयेष्टा महो यन्तु मन ॥ (Atharva Veda III. iii. 1. (6))

(34) भथ यत्तद्जायत साऽसागदित्यमृत जायमान धापा उलुलवोऽनृतिष्ठन्त सर्वाणि च भूतानि सत्र उ कामास्तस्मात्तत्यादय प्रति प्रत्यादत प्रति धापा उलुलवोऽनृतिष्ठन्ति सर्वाणि च भूतानि सत्र चेव कामा । Chhandogya—III. 19 (3)

(35) द्रूपाभिल्लु तुरङ्गाणा वाणाना किञ्चरय ।

रथानामपि चात्कारमुंगास्फोटुरामृताम् ॥

नरनाना पद्मद्व्यान रुद्रुवासदक्षुपाम् ।

सद्गु चलति तस्याभूच्छृणुद्वृतमय चगत् ॥ (Jyoga luchanita)

(36) पिण्डाद्यम्बु धाणिभ्या तृतीया प्रहृति गत ।

पणीकृतशिरा राजग्रान्ता चर उद्देन्ना ई (Veda 2. 27)

अयापरोऽदृशत रूपमनादा खागमकरा गते उद्दुमान् ।

— प्राकारवप्त प्रतिसुद्धकुपड़ दाय च भव्युपरि हाटे द्युप ॥ (Veda 11. 1)

(37) इमकर्माद्वौरभुक्तगतित म स्वतासुवलताविगलित शहृवलयरिव
मुणालशकै कलमापितम् (आधममन्तमयम्) (..)

is found to convey widely divergent meanings, and a philologist in such cases of divergency of meanings will not even admit the sameness of the word. So long, therefore, as we shall not find concordance of both word and meaning in the instances, we cannot admit their application to the present case. So let us see the extent of that concordance in the two cases. The 'उल्लुलयः' (with its variant उल्लुलयः) finds mention in a hymn of the Atharva Veda. It relates to warfare. The heroes are going to the war. The priest is offering his invocation for their victory. The meaning of the hymn is this — 'O Indra, let our heroes by your grace be inspired with warlike spirit, the warcry of the triumphant heroes rise deafening the ears of the enemies, the quarters resound with loud shouts of 'ullulu', the gods headed by Indra (yourself) come to our help in the fight'. From what we get from the meaning of the hymn, we cannot class this 'ullulu' and our 'ulalu' under the same category. The 'उल्लुलु' is a mild auspicious sound peculiar to the gynaccium; the उल्लुलु is a wild ecstatic shout peculiar to the battle field. Though ecstasy and auspiciousness are both inherent in both, yet in one they are primary, and in the other secondary (respectively taken). This double character of the 'ulalu' as primary and secondary in its two aspects respectively understood finds expression also in the particular sloka of our poet. (The use of उल्लुलु throughout in this topic for उलुलिं or उल्लुलि in the readings उलुलय and उल्लुलयः of the text is in accordance with Sāyana) (38). Now to उलुलयः. This occurs in the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad. The context is this: "When the sun had his birth, simultaneously therewith arose acclamations, as also all beings and all desires. Therefore, (even to-day) at his rising and also setting (or reappearing), arise acclamations, as also all beings and all desires."—

(38) 'उलुलय इति । अनुकरणशब्दोऽप्यम् । उलुलु इत्येवमात्मकाः'—Sāyana

Sankaracharya According to Sankara उलूलवः = उरुरव = acclamatory, that is, he, in consonance with the dictum—'र and ल are identical'—read उरु for उलु (उलूलु = उलु + उलु = उरु + उरु = उरुरु), and construed the word as an adjective to वोपा, and though by the remark as follows the birth of the first son of the lord has apparently admitted the two aspects (ecstasy and 'uspiciousness) of the उलूलु, yet by his attaching the alternative meaning of 'setting to प्रत्यायन has also partially discarded them For where in 'rise' there is the suggestion of birth, in 'decline that of death is inevitable Hence what at one place has been prescribed because of its festive and auspicious character cannot, on the worldly stand point, be justified at the other unless stripped of that character Even omitting the alternative meaning of 'setting', the word 'उलूलव' as taken by Sankara cannot be admitted as suggestive of the 'ululu which is purely of an onomatopoeic character Truly speaking, the 'उलूलु' in question is completely unsuitable in the present case, for, at the first appearance of the sun, the absence of creation necessarily involves absence of the sound in question, and even after, nobody ever uses the 'उलूलु' at sunrise, at sunset never By this Anandagiri's interpretation of the word directly referring to our उलूलु (for he explains it as 'a peculiar acclamation on festive occasions confined to particular countries' which is clearly a periphrasis for उलूलु) is also discarded

The reference in the 'Jagalucharita'—the modern poem spoken of before—is this 'When his (Jag lu Shah's) party started (on pilgrimage), the neighings of horses, the trumpetings of elephants, the rattlings of chariots, the arm slaps of the strong armed, the panegyrics of bards and the 'ulala' sounds of the fur eyed, all contributed to turn the whole atmosphere into one of sound alone Here with all deference to the

author's knowledge of the thing 'उलूल', we are constrained to say that he was not fully informed about its application. For, nowhere in the parts of India where the practice of उलूल is current, is it used on occasions of pilgrimage. This shortcoming only shows that the author's information was second hand. Or, even admitting that the practice was prevalent in Gujerat at the time of either the author or his hero it cannot affect our position until we meet with an exact parallel to the case we meet with in the *Nai adha* and even then the other evidences that have been adduced will run counter.

Now for the conch bangle. The connection in which it finds mention in the *Mahabharata* is this. The Pandavas having settled that they should pass the year of their incognito life in the city of Virata are now coming to an agreement as to how each should pass that life. Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhima having communicated their own modes, Arjuna communicates his — I shall introduce myself as a eunuch named Brihanoala, and, concealing the bow string marks on the arms with bangles, wearing ear rings and conch bangles and tying the hair into a braid, shall thus in the guise of a woman teach music to the queens and also amuse the hearts of the king and the ladies with tales. Thus I shall live incognito. Should the king ask my antecedents I shall say that I was formerly an attendant of Draupadi in the house of Yudhiṣṭhira. After that Draupadi, Nakula and Sahadeva declared theirs in their turns. All the six it should be known, emphasised their former connection with Yudhiṣṭhira as their common master. This done, the whole party prepared themselves for entering Virata. Here one may naturally think that conch bangles were current at that time in Virata and other allied places. So we shall see whether any solution is possible of this. In the opinion of experts the name Virata or Matsya applies also to a part of Bengal (viz. the districts of Dimapur, Rangpur and Cooch Behar jointly taken) and the acceptance of that view would

solve the question very easily and from the standpoinot of distance that would indeed be very favourable to a life of concealment, for considering the importance of this life on the success of which rested the future of the Pañdavas, the safer such life would be the better. But from the separate meotion of Vanga and Virata in the descriptioo of the princes assembled at the Rajasuya of Yudhiṣṭhīra in the Mahābhārata (39), and the geographical situation of the country of Matsya (40) mentioned in connection with the incognito life, it is clear that Matsya or Virata is distinct from Bengal and located somewhere in the north west of India. Therefore the solution of the question should be sought elsewhere. In the consultation above referred to we fid that the five brothers and Draupad all come to the agreement that if asked by the king of Virata they would each say that they formerly served under Yudhiṣṭhīra and would also describe the nature of their service. The object of mentioning Yudhiṣṭhīra is that if known to be complete strangers Virata would not admit them in his house, and the name of Yudhiṣṭhīra carried with it not only a removal of that har, but also his sympathy, for, they knew that king Virata was loyal to the Pañdavas (41), and for this reason particularly they sought the shelter of Virata. In the above connection with Yudhiṣṭhīra they want to show that they are not residents of Virata, and they do not also want manifestly to show that they belong to the country of Yudhiṣṭhīra. If so the object of wearing

(39) पौष्ट्रको वासदवश वद्वा कालिङ्गरूपतया ।

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विपाट सह पुत्राभ्या मागद्य भद्रावत ॥ (Sabha 34 11-2)

(40) उत्तरण दशार्जोस्ते पद्मावान् दशिष्ठेत तु ।

उत्तरण पहुँचोमान् शुरसेनद्य पाण्डवा ।

लुभ्वा मुद्याणा भत्त्यप्यस्य विषय प्राविशन् वनात् ॥ (Virata 5)

(41) मल्ट्यो विराटो वलवानभिरकोऽप्य पाण्डवान् ।

धर्मशीला वदान्यश्च वृद्धश सतत त्रिय ॥ (Virata 1-16)

the conch bangle is to show their alien connection, and thus Bengal also may come. This is possible, and desirable too,—possible, because Arjuna, while out on pilgrimage wandered through many countries and in the course of his wanderings went to Bengal also (42), and was acquainted with the practices of the place,—desirable, because by creating the impression of a distant residence it would greatly contribute to the security of the disguised life, or, a combination of the practices of two distinct provinces, such as a bunch of bangles on the arm and conch baogles on the wrists, through a vagueness about residence, would the more strengthen that contribution. A side question also is possible here, and that is—If the conch bangle were not current in Virata, how could Arjuna procure it there? To this we reply—The matter is not directly opposed to the principle of commerce, nor is there any justification for the belief that conch artisans were scarce in a flourishing city like Virata. Further, it would not be so unreasonable supposition that in consequence of the extreme hardness of the incognito life, the subject was uppermost in the mind of the Pandavas and they had long been preparing themselves for it.

The place of the Kedambari is the picture of a hermitage. The connection of conch bangles there is this 'In the hermitage here and there were lying morsels of lotus stalks half swallowed by young elephants, which gave one the impression that they were conch bangles slipped out of the hands of Goddess Sarasvati'—(The Parrot's speech). For the all-white Sarasvati such an ornament—the conch bangle—is most suited and natural. So the poet's conception in that respect is very nice indeed. But side by side with this an element of distaste also is there. That is the poet's ascription of slipping (from the hand) to the conch bangle. For, the

(42) अद्वद्वर्किंत्यु यानि तीर्थानि कानिष्ठित् ।

जगाम तानि सर्वाणि पुण्यान्यायतानि च ॥ Adiparva 215-9)

conch bangle is never worn in a way that would make slipping possible. Then, there is always associated with the conch bangle an idea of auspiciousness that urged the author of the *Naisadha* to introduce in the abundance of jewelled bangles the handle of conch. From the afore said conception of slipping as also from the suggestion of a broken condition to be supplied from the context the idea of auspiciousness has suffered with the result that the attainments of the hermits which dictated the introduction of Sarasvati in the hermitage have been negatived by the allied conception of her widowhood. Should one attempt a justification by construing it as a part of the उत्तरेण्टा, it would not stand. For the potency of the उत्तरेण्टा has been exhausted in the ascription of the material conch bangle to the spiritual Sarasvati. Hence, it is clear that even admitting the prevalence of the conch bangle in Bana Bhatta's time (7th century A.D.) in his country (Bihar) it was certainly not in the way in which we find it introduced in the *Naisadha*. The latter is typically Bengali. Next, in consideration of Bana Bhatta's extensive travels (for which he was on admission in the *Harsachanta* is the authority) and the peculiar association of Sarasvati and conch bangles with Bengal, it would not be unfair to connect his introduction of the conch bangle with the influence of his acquaintance (however imperfect) with Bengal. Or, this may have been influenced by the *Mahabharata*. Thus our position is unaffected from first to last, and our poet (Sribhāṣa) was not only an inhabitant of the country of conch bangles, but was also conversant with the art, as evidenced in the following extract —

ताराशङ्कविलोपकस्य जलज तीक्ष्णत्विपो भिन्दत
 सासम्बं चलता करेण निविडां निरपीडनां लम्भत ।
 क्षेदाधीं पहृताम्बुकम्बुजरजोजम्बालपाण्डुभव
 च्छुद्धुचित्तकरपवतामिह यद्यस्तं गतोऽधीं यिधु॥(XIX 57)

the conch bangle is to show their alien connection, and thus Bengal also may come. This is possible, and desirable too,—possible, because Arjuna, while out on pilgrimage wandered through many countries and in the course of his wanderings went to Bengal also (42) and was acquainted with the practices of the place —desirable, because by creating the impression of a distant residence it would greatly contribute to the security of the disguised life, or, a combination of the practices of two distinct provinces, such as a burch of bangles on the arm and couch bangles on the wrists, through a vagueress about residence, would the more strengthen that contribution. A side question also is possible here, and that is—If the conch bangle were not current in Virāṭa, how could Arjuna procure it there? To this we reply—The matter is not directly opposed to the principle of commerce, nor is there any justification for the belief that conch artisans were scarce in a flourishing city like Virāṭa. Further, it would not be an unreasonable supposition that in consequence of the extreme hardness of the incognito life, the subject was uppermost in the mind of the Pāṇḍavas and they had long been preparing themselves for it.

conch bangle is never worn in a way that would make slipping possible. Then, there is always associated with the conch bangle an idea of auspiciousness that urged the author of the Naradha to introduce in the abundance of jewelled bangles the bangle of conch. From the afore said conception of slipping as also from the suggestion of a broken condition to be supplied from the context the idea of auspiciousness has suffered, with the result that the attainments of the hermits which dictated the introduction of Sarasvati in the hermitage have been negatived by the allied conception of her widowhood. Should one attempt a justification by construing it as a part of the उत्प्रेक्षा, it would not stand. For the potency of the उत्प्रेक्षा has been exhausted in the ascription of the material conch bangle to the spiritual Sarasvati. Hence, it is clear that even admitting the prevalence of the conch bangle in Bāna Bhaṭṭa's time (7th century A. D.) in his country (Behar) it was certainly not in the way in which we find it introduced in the Naradha. The latter is typically Bengali. Next, in consideration of Bāna Bhaṭṭa's extensive travels (for which his own admission in the Harsacharita is the authority) and the peculiar association of Sarasvati and conch bangles with Bengal, it would not be unfair to connect his introduction of the conch bangle with the influence of his acquaintance (however imperfect) with Bengal. Or, this may have been influenced by the Mahābhārata. Thus our position is unaffected from first to last, and our poet (Sūhārṣa) was not only an inhabitant of the country of conch bangles, but was also conversant with the art, as evidenced in the following extract —

ताराशद्विलोपकस्य जलजं तीदण्डियो भिन्दत्.
 सारम्भं चलता फरेण निविदां निष्पीडनां लम्भितः ।
 क्षेदाधीं पहुताम्बुकम्बुजरजोजम्बालपाण्डम्बव-
 चतुद्वित्तकरपत्रतामिदं यदप्रस्तं गतोऽधीं विधु ॥ (XIX.57)

the conch hangle is to show their alien connection, and thus Bengal also may come This is possible, and desirable too,—possible, because Arjuna while out on pilgrimage wandered through many countries and in the course of his wanderings went to Bengal also (42) and was acquainted with the practices of the place —desirable, because by creating the impression of a distant residence it would greatly contribute to the security of the disguised life, or, a combination of the practices of two distinct provinces, such as a bunch of hangles on the arm and conch bangles on the wrists, through a vagueness about residence, would the more strengthen that contribution A side question also is possible here, and that is—ff the conch bangle were not current in Virāta, how could Arjuna procure it there ? To this we reply—The matter is not directly opposed to the principle of commerce, nor is there any justification for the belief that conch artisans were scarce in a flourishing city like Virāta Further, it would not be an unreasonable supposition that in consequence of the extreme hardness of the incognito life, the subject was uppermost in the mind of the Pāndavas and they had long been preparing themselves for it

The place of the kedamharti is the picture of a hermitage The connection of conch bangles there is this 'In the hermitage here and there were lying morsels of lotus stalks half swallowed by young elephants, which gave one the impression that they were conch bangles slipped out of the hands of Goddess Sarasvati' --(The Parrot's speech) For the all-white Sarasvati such an ornament—the conch bangle—is most suited and natural So the poet's conception in that respect is very nice indeed But side by side with this an element of distaste also is there That is the poet's ascription of slipping (from the hand) to the conch bangle For, the

(42) भद्रवद्वक्षिल्लय यानि तीर्थानि कानिचित् ।

जगाम तानि मवांगि पुण्यान्यायवरगानि च ॥ 1diparva 215 9)

conch bangle is never worn in a way that would make slipping possible. Then, there is always associated with the conch bangle an idea of auspiciousness that urged the author of the Naradha to introduce in the abundance of jewelled bangles the bangle of conch. From the afore said conception of slipping as also from the suggestion of a broken condition to be supplied from the context the idea of auspiciousness has suffered with the result that the attainments of the hermits which dictated the introduction of Sarasvati in the hermitage have been negatived by the allied conception of her widowhood. Should one attempt a justification by construing it as a part of the उत्प्रेक्षा, it would not stand. For the potency of the उत्प्रेक्षा has been exhausted in the ascription of the material conch bangle to the spiritual Sarasvati. Hence, it is clear that even admitting the prevalence of the conch bangle in Bana Bhatta's time (7th century A. D.) in his country (Bihar) it was certainly not in the way in which we find it introduced in the Naradha. The latter is typically Bengali. Next, in consideration of Bana Bhatta's extensive travels (for which his own admission in the Harṣa charita is the authority) and the peculiar association of Sarasvati and conch bangles with Bengal, it would not be unfair to connect his introduction of the conch bangle with the influence of his acquaintance (however imperfect) with Bengal. Or, this may have been influenced by the Mahābhārata. Thus our position is unaffected from first to last, and our poet (Śrīharṣa) was not only an inhabitant of the country of conch bangles, but was also conversant with the art, as evidenced in the following extract —

ताराशुद्धविलोपकस्य जलजं तीव्रणत्वियो मिन्दतः
सारम्भं चलता करेण निविडां निष्पीडना लम्भित ।
छेदाधीर्योपद्धताम्युक्त्युजरजोजस्यालपारद्भव
च्छुद्धविद्वित्यरपत्रतामिद्व यदग्रस्तं गतोऽधीर्यो विधु ॥(XIX 57)

Purport—The stars have disappeared. Lotuses are in bloom. The half set moon, hard pressed by the rays of the rising sun, appears like the conch cutter's saw white with conch dusts turned into clay by contact with water brought for facilitating the task of incision.

Devotion to the Sarasvata *mantra* after the Tantra also points to Bengal. For, Bengal is not simply the great centre of Tantra it is its nursery. The influence of this *tantra* is fully reflected in our poet's character too. The realisation of the Chintamani *mantra* is the effect of that same. This finds allusion in XIV. 88—90 of the *Nai-a-dha* (43).

An examination into the names of Śribhāra's works—the names are our only resort in the absence of the named—also points to the same conclusion of his connection with Gauda or Bengal. For, besides the *Naiadha* and the *Khandanakhanda*, Śribhāra is the author of a good many other works. Their names (so far as we know from their mention in the concluding verses of the canto, and in the *Khandanakhanda*) are—*Sthairyavichara*, *Vijayaprasasti*, *Gaudorvivakulaprasasti*, *Aranyakavarnana*, *Chhinda-(Chhanda)* *prasasti*, *Śivasakti siddhi*, *Nṛpa-(Nava—) Sāhasrakachanta*, and *Iṣvarābhūsandhi*. Of

(43) अवामावामाखे सर्वमुभयाद्वारधनाद्
 द्विवाभूतं रूप भगवद्भिर्घर्यं नवात् यत् ।
 तदन्तर्मन्त्रं मे स्मरहरमय सेन्दुममलं
 निराकार शधन्नप नरपते सिद्ध्यतु स ते ॥
 सर्वांगीणसामृतस्तिर्मितया वाचा स वाचस्पति.
 स स्वर्गीय मृगाद्वामपि वर्शाकारय मारायते ।
 यस्मै स स्पृहयत्यनेन स तद्वानोति किं भूयसा
 येनाय हृदये कृत. सुकृतिना मन्मन्त्रचिन्तामाणि ॥
 पुण्ड्रभूर्चर्च गन्धादिभिरपि सुभूगश्चाद्वतेन मां चे-
 ग्रियांन्तर्मन्त्रं मन्त्रमूर्ति जपति भवि मर्ति न्यस्य भव्येव भक्तः ।
 तत्प्राप्ते वस्त्रान्ते शिरसि करमसौ यस्य कस्यापि धर्चे
 सोऽपि इडोकानकाण्डे रच्यति गच्छिरान् कौतुक ददयमस्या ॥

these, the relation of the Gaudorvis akulapraśasti to Gauḍa is obvious, and while, it may be noted, that we are disposed to understand by the term गौडोर्वीश्च the Gauḍa kings in general, the commentator Gopinatha understood by it a particular king of Gauḍa—viz Vijayasena to whom we shall refer below In the Nṛpa—(Nava—)Sahasanka charita, the Sāhasanki, with Mahinatha and Narayaya, is the name of a Gauḍa king, which however, is not conclusive as the same commentators have also observed that with some this Sāhasanka is Bhoja or Vikramaditya The Chhinda (with its variant Chhāndī) in the Chhinda—(Chhanda—) prasasti is, with commentators, the name of a king not localised. This, therefore, though not supporting our case, is neither opposed to it Or by accepting the variant चूद-प्रशस्ति all difficulty is solved Narayana has even done so and explained चूद-प्रशस्ति as a treatise on metre But on examination into the meaning and use of the word प्रशस्ति that reading does not appear to be appropriate The Aranya varṇana whose subject matter is obvious from the name would be most appropriate to Bengal, though not improbable elsewhere As for the Vijayapraśasti, though the commentators (of course such as were available) are all silent on the point, the 'Vijaya,' assuredly, is the name of an individual—I mean a king For, to assign the meaning 'victory' would lead to an inaccuracy as observed above in connection with the Chhanda-praśasti If, then, it is the name of a king, it is now for us to determine who the king might be, and of what country The history of the 12th century designates a Gauḍa king named Vijayasena—the father of the illustrious Vallalasena Vallala has referred to him in his work en titled 'Dānastigara' The time of Śribhāsa too, on examination, appears to fall somewhere in the same century For Śribhāsa in many places in his Khaṇḍana has refuted the arguments of the

author of the *Kusumāñjali*—Udayanācharya (44), who flourished in the 10th century (45) And *Gangesa Upādhyāya* in his *Tattvacintamani* has refuted the arguments of Śrihara as embodied in the *Khaṇḍana* (46) His time has been ascertained to be the 13th century (47) Thus the two ends of Śrihara's time being limited, the convention of old writers that they never write on modern works by allowing a reasonable margin on both sides will present something like the same That Śrihara was never anterior to Vijayasena nor even posterior is testified to by the manner of Gopinatha's specification already referred to Viewed in this light, the 'Vijayaprasasti' too favours the Bengal connection of the author. The *Sivasakti siddhi*, as appears from the title, treats of a subject bearing on the Tantra, and none need be told of the sway which the *Tantra* holds over Bengal. The subject matter of the remaining works is alien, as is manifest from the names, and so not a matter for the present consideration.

Even after this determination of the poet's country one might say that this is conclusive in so far as it proves that he was an inhabitant of Bengal Until, therefore, it is definitely shown that his mother tongue was Bengali, one cannot be convinced that he was a Bengali in the full sense of the term, I mean one born with the instincts of a Bengali The question is the more urgent, as there already exists a tradition that

(44) For reference, see such places as "तदिदमाहुः 'प्रमाणवन्त्यदृष्ट्यनि
स्त्व्यात्तं उग्नहृत्यपि' इति । उग्नात्—"; "द्वितीयस्तु व्याधातोद्वासम्भवी
पस्सरविरोद्धे इ न प्रज्ञात्यात्मीर्कर्ता । इति"; and "उग्नादस्मार्मित्य-
प्रिमव्रथ न यत्तु दुष्टाऽ । उव्वूगाव्यवान्यवाक्याकारमश्चरणि कियन्त्यपि ॥"

(45) Thus his own word—

तर्कस्म्बरादूक्यमितेऽवर्तीतेऽनु शकान्तरः ।

बपूदयनभूक्ते सुरोर्वां व्याप्त्यावर्लीम् ॥ Bala 906 (A. D. 984)

(46) So he says 'इति सगङ्गवारमत्सप्तप्राप्तस्तम्'

(47) See Rajendra Nath Ghosh's Introduction to his 'Navayanyāya'

connects his nativity with Kanouj and ooly his domicile with Bengal. The solution will be easy from the mode of his pronunciation ooticeable in the poem. It is a well known fact that every vernacular has its own way of pronunciation in respect of certain letters, and Sanskrit which is no longer a spoken language is completely at the mercy of the Varnacular (mother tongue) in this respect. The Bengali tongue, it should be known, observes no distinction in the pronunciation of the three sibilants (শ, প, স), the letters ষ, ষ and ষ (the last when it begins a word) are in Bengali invariably pronounced like ন, ব and জ respectively, the ষ in ক্ষ is treated invariably as খ, the ত্রিসৰ্গ is conspicuous by shorttoes, and there are other such peculiarities holding the Bengali tongue as distinct from others. This trend of our poet has revealed itself through his alliterations. Our poet is exceedingly fond of alliteration. There is hardly a verse where alliteration has not its share, and in most places it partakes of the character of an analogue (যমক) and so cannot be slighted. This fondness of our poet for alliteration or any verbal feat having transcended his poetry has made itself felt even in his philosophy. Two quotations are made from the Khaṇḍanakhāṇḍa—

(1) নদ দ্রৈ ত্যু তে স্তা ব্দ চাধ প্র ত্য শ্ব ত ত ।
 নানুমানাদি ত কর্তৃ তথাপি চমতে মত ॥
 শ্রদ্ধনাগমনাসীরে সাধু সা ধু বতী পরানু ।
 সেবাংমচাৰ্জ্যত্যর্থাপত্তিপত্তি পরম্পরা ॥

(2) সম স্তলো কণ্ঠ ক্ষ ম ন্ত্য মাধ্বিত্য নৃত্য তো ।
 কা তদস্তু গতিস্তচদ্বম্ভুপীব্যবহারযা ॥

Under such circumstances we may reasonably conclude that, wherever the adoption of the Bengali mode of pronunciation gives us prominent cases of alliterations, analogue-ridden or otherwise, that is there the pronunciation intended

by the poet. The truth of this will be ascertained from the following illustrations —

- 1 ए प स—अमी ततस्तस्य विभूषितं सितं (I-57), अयोगभाजाऽपि नृपस्य पश्यता (I—100, सखा सखायः स्वर्गदश्ववो मम (I—136), कदु कीटा-दशनःसत कचित् (II—4), अज्ञासिपु खीर्णशुवालिशार्दत (X—32), वालामभाषत सभासत-तःगहमा (XI—16), अश्वैरस्वैरवेगैः (XII—100), नाशनाति स्नाति हा मोहात् (XVII—41) ज्ञानस्पर्शांतरा मौनमानशे मानसेविनी (XV—13), विनाणि विश्राणितवान् पितृभ्यः (XXII—50).
- 2 ज, य—मनस्तु यं नोऽग्नातु जातु यातु (III—59), उपेयमाधुर्ये मधैर्यसज्जि (VI—93), मनुष्यजन्मन्यपि यन्मनो जने (IX—34, यातुं ततो जात न यातुधान (X—11), तदृ-पत्रजन्मा यन्मादत् (XI—39), जागर्ति यग्नेश्वरः (XII—38), यज्ञयूपधनो जज्ञौ (XVII—172),
- 3 ण, न—पुरुषेन मन्ये पुनरयजन्म (VIII—33, स्फुरद्दिग्न-नन्दमहाणवैतवैः (XII - 2), अमूनि मन्येऽपरानिर्भरिष्यपा (XXII—21)
- 4 व, व—कुलं सुधांयोवर्हेलं वदन् चहु (I—110), स्मरहरः विमसुं वुभुजं विभु. (IV—60) वुवुधिरे विवुधेऽद्रा. (V—60), विविवुयो वुवुष्ये न (V—72), स विलोक्य वालाम् (VI—13), संविन्नति श्रो॥त्रयविभूमं यत् (VII—100 च्ये जगद्वीवपिष्ठं षिष्ठं वदन् (IX—124), ।
- 5 च—नलस्य च स्वस्य च सख्यमीक्षते, I—38), अभिख्या भिक्षाधुना (VII—104), तदृ सौख्यलदयः XI—108), भाचख्यौ चाक्षि चमुम् (XVII—92), सख्यौ सक्षीमभाषेऽपि (XX—129)

6. विसर्ग (The peculiarity attaching to the विसर्ग is prominent in the analogue alone. Hence that alone is considered here)—

आगत्य भूतः सकलो भवत्या भावप्रतीत्या गुणलोभवत्याः (III-115)
 तं संवदत्यद्गुणस्यनाभि-कस्तूरिकासौरभवासनाभि- (XXII-86)
 Miscellaneous—स गंशिरासीन्महसां महोज्जवलः (I- 1)
 असंवरे शम्वरवैरविक्रमे (I-53), अवाश्मिन्द्यते
 (II-78), आसन्ननायकविषयमुखानुमेय (XI-12),
 पद्म-जसख्याशिक्षा (XI-102), सर्णीपदसुचिन्हा धी (XX-58)
 अद्गुस्थितसज्जश्यम् (XXII-2).

Like his fondness for alliteration his fondness for me too is so distinctly manifest in the Naishadha, that may be called a regular mama of the poet. A few examples may be quoted :—

धार्यै कथद्गुरमहेभवत्या वियद्विहारी यसुधैकगत्या (III 15)
 अरणस्पशद्गुर्यमिच्चारहेतुर्वर्णी न येदा यदि सत्तु के तु ।
 (III-78) ।
 अपां हि तुप्ताय न वारिधारा स्वादु. सुगन्धिः स्वदते तुपारा ।
 (III-93) ।

तं कापि मैनं स्मरमेव कन्या भेजे मनोभूतश्भूयमन्या ।
 . VIII-6) ।
 जाता न वित्ते न गुणे न काम सौन्दर्ये पव्य प्रवणः स
 वामः । (X-13) ।

प्रध्येसमं सावततार वाला गन्धर्वविद्याधरकरणमावा ।
 त्रयीमयीभूतवलीविभद्वा साहित्यनिर्वर्तितद्वकरद्वा ॥ X-73)

Such examples are profuse, not only in the Naishadha, but in the Khanḍana so poor in verses. It is therefore no wonder that the influence of the Bengali tongue will be received in this rhyme too. Thus we have—

वचसामपि गोचरो न यः स तमानदमधिनदत द्विजः । (II-1)
 आस्थितवितयतागुणपाशस्त्वादरा स विदुपा दुरपासः । V-130)
 तस्मिन् विषयार्थपथात्तपातं तदद्वरागच्छुरितं निरोद्धय ।
 विस्मेरतामापुरविस्मरन्त्य. चित्तं मिष्यः कन्दुकमिन्दुमुख्यः ॥
 (VI-42)

द्यायामु रुं भुषि वीक्ष्य तस्य फलं दशोरानश्चिरं मदिष्यः
(VI—43) ।

चन्द्रानिरुक्तमुख्यचन्द्रिकाणां दरायतं तत्किरणं दृ घनानं म ।
(VII—44)

यस्य कर्तिर्गदायति स्म सा कर्तिर्कीर्तिधितिथीयिनी
स्वसा । (XVIII—22)

कर्तवीर्यमिदुणे दग्धस्ये रेणुकेष मत्ता सुखनाश्ये ।
(XXI—68)

With regard to this question of pronunciation one might say that deviations too are observable in the Naradha. Such a one is च ये ..चयम् (See the first half of the concluding verses of the cantos) Or, contending that this forms part of the concluding verse of a canto and the concluding verses have already been shown to be spurious, and also, the marks of the analogue (यमक) are not so conspicuous here, and hence negligible, there is another whose authority is unquestioned and where the marks of the analogue are also conspicuous in the extract—सुव्यंष्टि हि स्फुट-भावना या सा पूर्वकं फलभावनायाः । (XIV—7) How should that be explained ?

Reply.—The question is a little complex no doubt, but not insoluble. In the solution we should first see what is the extent of the analogue, I mean whether it is confined to भावना alone or 'या-या' also is to be included. If it is confined to भावना no difficulty arises. If 'या-या' also is to be included, then the question will be—How to solve the विसर्ग? For it cannot be separated from the vowel, and if not separated the analogue (यमक) will suffer. The analogue difficulty is solved on admitting the Bengali pronunciation, but that very procedure will establish the Bengali pronunciation of the 'य' as well. Therefore, the analogue here is to be restricted to the भावना portion only and the Bengali pronunciation of य is intact.

Conclusive as the above evidences are in establishing the Bengali origin of the poet, doubts on some minor points are still not unlikely. Such are—(1) his mother's strange name 'Māmalladevi', (2) the addition of 'Misra' after his name as found at the end of some chapters of his Khaṇḍanakhādya, (3) the traces, in many places in his Naṭṣadha and Khaṇḍanakhādya, of his acquaintance with Pāṇini (48), (4) his high honours at the hands of the King of Kanouj (foot-note 5), and (5) the appreciation of his poem by scholars in Kasbmir (foot note (1)—canto XVI). So these too require to be cleared.

The first doubt attaches to a name and our reply to this is that the name is no authority. Sridharāchārya was a Bengali (which is an established fact), yet his mother's name was 'Acbcbhokā'. Besides, if the name 'Māmalladevi' is not current in Bengal, neither is it in other countries. So it is not a contrary point. Even supposing it to have a foreign origin, that would be no bar to our conclusion, for even in the modern age of narrowed nationalities instances are not rare of a Bengali being named Jangilal or a Hindusthani Venkatachari. About the second point, the surname 'Misra' is no proof of one's being a non-Bengali. For, it was so before, and even now many Bengalis are found with 'Misra' for their surname. With regard to the third point, viz acquaintance with Pāṇini, our reply is that the currency of Pāṇini in the Rajshahi district (Bengal) dates from olden times. The Bhāṣāvṛtti of Pāṇini is current only in Bengal. Its author Purushottam was a Bengali. The saying goes that it was written at the instance of King Lakshman Sen of Gauḍa. Also, the Dhātuvṛtti, Dhātuprādīpa,

(48) इह किसुपसि पृच्छावसिक्किद्वदरूप-प्रतिनियमितवाचा वायस्सेनेप पृष्ठ ।

भग फणिभवशास्त्रे तातड. स्थानिनौ काविति विदितगृहीवागुच्चः कोकिलोऽभूत् ॥ (XX-60). Also foot-note (4) and (5)

Tantrapradipa and Kāśikā-vivarana-panchikā (which last goes by the name Nyāsa—of course incomplete) have all been discovered by the Rajshahi Varendra Society and that in Bengal. Besides, the celebrated Naiyāyika Gadādhara Bhattacharya, a Bengali, has in many places in his glosses quoted *sūtras* from Pañini. As for the last two points relating to Kanyakuhja and Kashmir, these are no proofs to the contrary. It is the Indian adage which says विद्वान् सर्वत्र पूज्यते (The learned are honoured everywhere). Honouring the poet is a time honoured custom in India. Distance was never an impediment to it.

My conclusion regarding the Bengali origin of Sriharṣa finds support in two ancient works also. Rājasekhara Suri in his Prahanḍakosha (Hariharaprahanḍha) says about Harihara that he was descended from Sriharṣa and belonged to Gauḍa (49), and Vidyāpati Thakkura—of nearly the same age—says in an anecdote of his Puruṣapariṇkṣā that Sriharṣa was a native of Gauda. The anecdote in brief is this—

In the country of Gauḍa there lived a poet and scholar named Sriharṣa. He composed a poem entitled Nalacharita and to show it to the Pandits for their approval went to Benares. There he read it to a Pandit named Koka. Koka went on hearing, but passed no remark though a greater part of the book had been read to him. Sriharṣa then asked him: 'Perhaps you are not listening'. Koka said, 'Oh yes, I am. But I reserve my opinion until I hear the whole, when I shall be in a position to judge the work. Afterwards, when the whole had been read, he gave his views and sent him away. (50)

(49) गौडदेशीयः इति 'श्रीहर्षदंते हरिहरो गौडदेशः' इति ।

(50) बभूव गौडविषये श्रीहर्षो नाम कविषयिद्वा । स च नलचरिताभिधानं काव्यं कृत्वा * * * तत्काल्यं दर्शयितु पण्डितमण्डलीमुद्दिश्य वाराणसी जगाम । तत्र च कोक्नामानं पण्डितं श्रावयामास । * * * श्रीहर्षस्तु तमनुगच्छन् पठति प्रत्यहम् । तदुत्तरं किमपि नामेति । एकदा श्रीहर्षोक्तम् । आयं

I shall conclude this second point of my article with an examination into the views (1) of those who by the authority of Rajasekhara Suri's *Prabandhakosa* (referred to above) say that Srihara was a Pandit at the court of Jayantachandra (otherwise called Jayachandra and Jayachchandra), King of Benares, and at that time Kanouj and Benares were under one rule (51) and so he was a native of Benares or Kanouj, (2) of those who resting on the tradition relating to Adisur, king of Bengal, say that he was a native of Kanouj, having subsequently transferred his residence to Bengal, and (3) of those who on the strength of the tradition which represents him as a nephew (sister's son) of Mammata believe that he was a Kashmiri.

With regard to the first view the question is—Had Srihara been a native of Benares or Kanouj, could he, consistently, have passed over the king of his own country (Benares or Kanouj) and written a *chanta* or a *prasasti* of the king of a distant country, (Gauḍa)? If it be said that his *Vijayaprasasti* refers not to Vijayasen, king of Gauda, but to Vijayachandra, father of Jayantachandra, even then his connection with Gauḍa (shown above) as revealed in the names of his other works is not solved. Besides, we are

महाकाव्ये कृतश्चमोऽहम् । उत्परीक्षाये त्वामुद्दिश्य दुद्धा स्वदेशीयवात्सल्येन
च मद्दो दूरादागतोऽमि । * * * भवान्न निन्दात न चाभिनन्दिति । तस्मन्ये
कर्णमेव नार्ययोति । शोक उवाच । आ कथमह कर्णं नार्यामि । किन्तु
सम्पूर्ण श्रुत्वा शब्दार्थयोरुद्धापोहन सन्दूभृद्धि ज्ञात्वा विशेष वक्ष्यामि ।
कोकपिडतस्त्वय कान्दस्य गुणान् प्रस्तुत्य दोपान् समाधाय विशेषानु-
दोध्य त श्रीहृषकविराज दृष्टमनस कृत्वा गृह प्रस्त्यापयामास । (Vidyapati's *Parusapank* 5)

(51) Thus *Parusapank* a—मद्दित महारीशीर्थीतोऽ करन्यकुब्ज नाम नरा म् ।
तथा द्वाशीर्थीतो जयचन्द्रो राजा चमू । Also तत कापि गत्वा सुजदृष्टेण
पौरुषमजयामीति परामृश्य स कुमार कान्दकुब्ज नाम जनपद जगाम । तथा
च श्रीजयचन्द्रनाम्नो राज्ञ काशीश्वरात्म चुभटपरिपाट्या दर्शन चक्षर ।

still in darkness as to why he should pass over one he is directly concerned with—I mean Jayacbandra or Jayanta chandra—in favour of his father Vijayachandra. Again, all are not agreed about the name of Jayachandra's father. According to Rājāśekhara his father's name was Govinda chandra. With others, Govindachandra was the name of his grandfather. Moreover, the verse that is often quoted in support of the Vijayachandra view (52) has nothing therein to show that it exclusively refers to Vijayacbandra and not to Jayachandra. For while the 'son of Govinda (गोविन्दनन्दन)' in the verse means in one view Vijayachandra, it may in the other mean Jayachandra as well. In this way, as also from the fact that at the time of Vijayachandra's expedition (which is said to be the occasion for the verse) Śrīharṣa was a boy (this, too, is the version of the same party), and for a boy a verse like the above would appear, if not from the point of composition, at least from the point of conception, unnatural, its reference to Vijayachandra is hard to establish. To this if we add the view of the Prabardhakosa, the matter becomes altogether different. There, when Śrīharṣa returned equipped with scholarship for the requital of his father's disgrace, he hailed Jayantachandra with that verse. Thus the connection of the 'Vijayapraśasti' with Vijayachandra can in no way be entertained, and the inconsistency about the title of the book remains unsolved as before. Moreover, in that view where is the solution of those other points (discussed in this paper) that go to establish the Bengal character? Above all, the same authority of Rājāśekhara's Prabandha kosa whose first part 'Śrīharṣa Vidyadhara Jayantachandra Prabandha' by reason of its presenting Śrīharṣa as a member

(52) गोविन्दनन्दनतया च चतु प्रिया च मार्ग मन्त्रे कुरु । कामधिय तरुण ।

अश्वीकरोति जाता वित्ते द्वाराद्योऽश्वी जन पुनरनेन विद्धीयते खा ॥

(53) See footnote (49)

of the court of Jayantachandra has been made the basis of establishing Srihara's non Bengali origin, by the distinct mention, in its last part 'Harihara prabandha', of the expression 'Harihara in the line of Srihara was a Gaudiya', only confirms our own view about the poet, viz that he was a Bengali.

With regard to the second view, based on the tradition about Ādisur, the first question would be how far it would be possible for a foreigner having come to a place at an advanced age to completely identify himself with it, even to the extent of forgetting the trends of his mother tongue. Secondly, for a ritualistic Brāhmaṇa (for Ādisur brought the five Brāhmaṇas for the performance of a sacrifice) intensive studies of poesy and philosophy do not, from the point of taste and leisure, commute to reason. Thirdly, from our examination of the titles of Srihara's works we nowhere find any reference to Virasimha who sent him to Bengal. How is this to be explained? Fourthly, the family registers (कुलपत्रकालि) give the name of Srihara's father as Tithimedbā,—different from Hirī or Srihira. Fifthly, according to genealogist Vanshavādan Vidyaratna, it was some ancestor of Srihara and not Srihara himself who was among the five Brāhmaṇas that hailed from Kanouj. This view, therefore, in spite of its conformity to the Gauda connection revealed in the works as aforesaid, cannot be accepted as tenable.

As regards the third view the first objection would come from the historians, who contradict the tradition where it relates to our poet's interview with the rhetorician by saying that the two were never contemporary. Secondly, it is hard to reconcile how when a distinguished Kashmirian critic like Mammata could not accord his approbation, the poem could still be given the credentials of one having won laurels at the learned assembly of Kashmir. Thirdly, the glorification in the

Kashmir honours, as also the alien notion attaching to the direct mention of Kashmir, would naturally expect one to connect these honours with impartial judges of a foreign land. Lastly, this offers no solution of the points going to prove a different view as shown above.

From the aforesaid examination of the three views we come to the following conclusions (1) In spite of the possibility of his having lived in the court of the king of Kāsi or Kanouj, Srihara was never a native of either of those places (2) Srihara in question was never among the five Brāhmaṇas reported to have come from Kanouj, and the view that an ancestor of our Srihara hailed from Kanouj does not mar our position whose main point is that the author of the *Naisadha* was born with the instincts of a Bengali, for the distance of even two or three removes in a foreign land with all communication cut off with one's own country is sufficient for identification with the new place (3) The alleged relationship between Mammata and our poet, coupled with the peculiar formation of the name मामल्लदेवी which, according to some, approximates a Kashmirian name, would at best establish his Kashmir connection on the mother's side, which, considering the peculiar relationship holding between Kashmir and Bengal in those days and comparative relaxation of marriage restrictions, would be no bar to his Bengal connection on the father's side, and that establishes our point.

VI.—INDIAN DRAMATURGY.

(By P. N. PATANKAR)—9-3-12

Like most of the स्मृतिः, नोतिशास्त्रः, पुराणः &c., the नाट्यशास्त्र �going under the name of भरत seems to be an enlargement of an original briefer work in the form of सूत्रः, भवभूति actually speaks of a तौयंत्रिक सूत्र by भरत. The नाट्यशास्त्र speaks of भरत as the lecturer to an assemblage of ऋषिः and contains many verses professedly current in the mouths of the representatives of the particular branches of thought or art with reference to which they are quoted.

Though traceable to meanest performances like picture scenes, pantomimes and puppet shows—suggested by the etymology of words like सूत्रधार, and corroborated by existing remnants of those crude types yet to be seen in the less refined quarters of the country,—the drama in the early age to which we might trace the नाट्यशास्त्र had reached a stage of undoubted perfection so far as the detail of acting as well as decorative appurtenances went, to say nothing of the poetic art and the study of poesy in its abstrusest details.

The arts connected with the representation of the drama represent of course the type of refinement the society had reached. From the practical aspects of engineering applied to architecture, the various industries that supplied the means and materials of stage arrangements and decorations to the construction of musical instruments of a large variety of shapes and structures, the mind and hand of man can both be easily seen as hardly inferior to the perfections of any society one might imagine either past or present.

If effectual performance is the end of dramatic representation, भरत's teachings can never be excelled by any thinkers and students of the science and art of dramaturgy.

The नाट्य therefore has been appropriately raised to the dignity of a वेद and in the early beliefs about the source of anything that is perfect in its conception or virtue, this वेद has been rightly attributed to व्राह्मण् himself, just in the same way that that god was the inspirer of the great वाल्मीकि in singing the story of राम.

भरत obtained the नाट्यवेद and performed for the pleasure of the gods and demigods or demons representing their own exploits. The भृत्यरस्त्राः including गृह्यवेद्येः of heaven are his assistants and from them sprang a class of performers on the earth. They were esteemed by व्राह्मणः and नृपः and perpetuated the art in the world. जयदेव of the प्रसन्नराघव speaks of the actors as an inferior class to व्राह्मणः, the special terms indulgently allowed to be used by नटी and सूत्रधार towards each other as आर्य and आर्या might imply an inferiority, but the inferiority does not seem to have amounted to untouchableness in the festive dinners; मैत्रेय in the मृच्छकटिक is invited to dine at the सूत्रधार's, the सूत्रधार of the मुद्राराहस allows a dinner to be given to प्राह्मणः by his wife. Learning even in the sacred lores is not denied to that class, as can easily be gathered by reference to any of the known dramas.

As already hinted, the society for whom the नाटक was performed was of the most refined आर्य classes, and an adaptation to the taste of the time and the condition of the society is a principle that shows how perfect the ideals were both in the case of the Actors and that of the audience. Nor was this वेद denied to the शूद्र class. In the literal attitude of the भगवद्वीता (खियो वैश्यास्तथा युद्रास्तेऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम्), it was even intended for their enlightenment.

If poetic justice means anything, it is fully maintained in the भारतीय ideal of the नाट्य. The नाट्य must be an honest picture of existing phenomena (in the moral and

spiritual world more especially, the physical being often left to the imagination) and the possibilities from them. The drama *must have a moral aim*. What could be superior to the conception of the matter? Everything that would mislead offend or corrupt is to be eschewed from the representation. Nothing could be more touching than the care of the guardian of the souls of the receptive spectators when he warns you against what may harm the sensibilities and thoughts of the innocent souls.

Unlike the modern ways a dramatic performance was not a very frequent affair. Only important occasions were availed of for the performance and usually the aspices of some powerful patron were sought by the profession. It was a solemn affair, not a mere entertainment. It was therefore commenced with proper 'pomp and circumstance from the religious point of view. It was thus a quasi religious performance. Worship and prayers and sacrificing preceded the representation and the effect could be expected to be correspondingly great.

The sage takes care to teach with the very elements and beginning with the units of measurement, he details, the construction of the theatre in a thoroughly practical and scientific spirit. It is interesting to note the principles of every art that bears on the author's main subject. Some of these will be treated further below.

Every care is taken to propitiate the spiritual powers from beginning to end of every main part of the whole business. The choice of place and time and persons in safeguarding the spiritual side in full keeping with the existing superstitions is enjoined and full practical directions given about the measurement material and structure with all the minor particulars required for the convenience of situations in the acting.

All materials required to make the apparatus needed for the scenes, the directions to construct the the same, the personal decorations including costumes jewels, have been given in full detail, that throw, immense light on the fashion of social life of a very important period of Aryan history. Lists of these are interesting in a variety of ways

The drama involves poetics, music singing and dancing. The last as a matter of fact is intimately connected with the very idea of acting. The author has devoted abundant space and patience to the treatment of these four subjects. Each of these has given rise to different branches of study in later times. The साहित्यर्थ्य treats fully of poetics including general poetry as well as particular. Technical works exist on singing and musical instruments especially the मृदंग—arts familiar in the courts of India. A reading of these would throw light on the obscurities in the understanding of the tunes of the songs in some of the older dramas as well as the nature of some technical terms that but for this as an original authority would be unintelligible. It is true that a thorough appreciation of the details is almost impossible, but the chapters on these subjects serve as a mine from which much valuable matter is discoverable.

The details of आभिनन्द (inclusive of the modulation of the voice) can never be surpassed. The observation both of the nicer shades of acting and of the corresponding effects is a matter belonging solely to the province of genius and in everyone of the above branches, the power of the Indian mind indicates the possibilities which set forth hidden treasures of the soul. Later authors could not give all the detail, that is too vast to follow but yet too valuable to be neglected.

It has been already said that Actors made a separate caste. Males and females both acted on the stage. Pro-

fessional female dancers and female singers are mentioned, but the वेश्या or harlot class must be considered as a distinct one from the भरत caste. The dancing girls are even spoken of as high born.

The acting of female parts by male persons and vice versa was in vogue to a little extent. But the sexes seem most usually to play their own parts, the females belonging to the भरत caste of course being the female players. While the वेश्या or गणिया is a separate class altogether, though she was notwithstanding her profession held respectable in the social scale. वसन्तसंगी's mansion and honourable position are a sufficient instance in point.

For the history of language, of society and of different peoples in the geographical situations, much research is possible with the help of भरत's नाम्यशास्त्र. Names of countries, of peoples, of particular features and fashions among the variety of nationalities are matters of supreme interest to the student of history. The study of prosody given here will suggest the stages in the history of Sanskrit and Prakrit that will be very useful in determining the periods of development or otherwise in the variety of languages described or illustrated. There are numerous miscellaneous features that deserve attention.

The worship of gods can very nearly be traced as mediaeval between Vedic worship and later image worship, a kind of the गृह्य rites with the later and local superstitions गणपति and महागणपति in their later characters are nowhere, while the now neglected ब्रह्मन् as a deity worshipped in image is highly prominent.

नक्षत्रः seem to have been the common expression of popular astronomy instead of the more popular राशिः of the later times.

Numbers of miscellaneous points may be noted. सरस्वती is spoken of as द्वारिप्रिया, कपायदमन् is an ill omen नाडापुडी used in modern worship seems to have had an early origin, श्वेतकर्म has been prescribed for particular purposes. While technical terms belonging to the fine arts occur in innumerable details and form in themselves an indication of the taste and intellectual development of the age represented in the work.

The नाटक is of course the principal subject. The abstract as well as concrete features of the subject find perfect expression here and the history of the Sanskrit drama can start from this work as the most valuable material. As already noted, the drama being a काव्य, भरत has detailed all the characteristics of the काव्य on which later writers on the subject have amply drawn to make their own systems.

There is some question with regard to the unities.— But the idea of the Greek unities is almost absent because of the free spirit in which the Indian drama was conceived and constructed. The question has been started with the assumption that India owes something to Hellenic models in the art. The unities are naturally given up in so far as there may be no need for them, the Elizabethan drama in English did so and the Sanskrit drama did that in the early age.

Some early dramas have been mentioned in the नाट्यशास्त्र. Some are hinted later on by Patanjali. असूतमःयन, त्रिपुरदाह, चत्विंशत्यन, कंसवध एवं are instances.

The age of the writing of the नाट्यशास्त्र is an interesting question. There is no doubt that Kalidas had known it well. भवभूति did know, but he speaks of भरत as the तौरेंत्रिवसुवकार. भवभूति has made use of the poetic fact of the machinery of the अप्सरसूर्य being employed by भरत. Worship of ग्रहान् is mentioned by कालिदास. The triad of ग्रहान्, विष्णु and महादेव has been recognised. The point of नक्षत्रों being used for sacred purposes and not राशिः lends data in inferring the date. We must at any rate go behind कालिदास, i. e. behind the fifth century in settling the date of the work.

A more careful and patient study will enable one to develop all these subjects more fully.